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DURKHEIM'S FUNCTIONAL THEORY OF RITUAL

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Functionalism in sociology is seen at its best, perhaps, in Durkheim's analysis of ceremony and ritual. The French sociologist inquired into the nature and functions of ceremonial and ritualistic institutions in Book III of *Les Formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse*. His mode of analysis here follows his general theory of religion which he perceives as an expression, in symbolic form, of social realities. He first determines the religious functions of ceremonial and ritualistic behavior and then tries to get behind the symbolic beliefs and behavior to the social realities which they are purported to express. In thus "substituting reality for symbol" he brings religion down to earth, so to speak, and hence is able to ascertain the social functions of the religiously symbolic conduct.

A study of the proscribing rites, i.e., taboos and interdicts ("the negative cult")¹ and of the prescribing ones such as sacrificial, imitative, commemorative, and piacular rites ("the positive cult"),² reveals that ritualistic institutions have a number of vital social functions which vary, of course, with the nature of the particular cere-

¹ *Les Formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse* (Paris: Alcan, 2nd edition, 1925), Book III, Chap. I.

² *Ibid.*, Book III, Chaps. II-V.

mony being performed. The following are four social functions of ritual to which Durkheim pays special attention.³

(1) *A disciplinary and preparatory function.* Ritual prepares an individual for social living by imposing on him the self-discipline, the "disdain for suffering," the self-abnegation without which life in society would be impossible. Social existence is possible only as individuals are able to accept constraints and controls. Asceticism is an inherent element in all social life.⁴ Ritual, being formal and institutional, and hence to some degree prohibitive and inhibitive, is necessarily ascetic. Durkheim observes:

In fact, there is no interdict, the observance of which does not have an ascetic character to a certain degree. Abstaining from something may be useful or from a form of activity, which, since it is usual, should answer to some human need, is, of necessity, imposing constraints and renunciations.⁵

But abstinences, he adds,

do not come without suffering. We hold to the profane world by all the fibres of our flesh; our senses attach us to it; our life depends upon it. It is not merely the natural theatre of our activity; it penetrates us from every side; it is a part of ourselves. So we cannot detach ourselves from it without doing violence to our nature and without painfully wounding our instincts. In other words, the negative cult cannot develop without causing suffering. Pain is one of its necessary conditions.⁶

Moreover, the positive cult is possible "only when a man is trained to renouncement, to abnegation, to detachment from self, and consequently to suffering."⁷ Ascetic practi-

³ We list them without regard to the specific rites which especially foster each. Durkheim, we feel, tends to classify as separate rites what are in a sense only elements found in varying degree and with varying frequency in almost all ceremonies. Thus a "piacular rite" such as mourning is frequently not devoid of sacrificial, commemorative, or imitative elements; nor is the taboo aspect entirely absent.

⁴ Durkheim, *op. cit.*, p. 452.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 444.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 446.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 451.

ces, therefore, are "a necessary school where men form and temper themselves, and acquire the qualities of disinterestedness and endurance without which there would be no religion."⁸ Substitute, in the above quotations, "social rule" for negative cult, "social life" for positive cult, and "society" for religion, and one has a clear picture of the disciplinary function of social ritual.

(2) *A cohesive function.* Ceremony brings people together and thus serves to reaffirm their common bonds and to enhance and re-enforce social solidarity. "Rites are, above all, means by which the social group reaffirms itself periodically."⁹ Ceremonial occasions are occasions of social communion. They are necessitated by the inevitable intermittency of social life.¹⁰ The workaday, immediate, private, and personal interests of an individual occupy much of his everyday life. His social ties to his fellow men, their common pool of values, tend to become obscure, indistinct, and even to lapse from consciousness. But since society is a necessary condition of human civilized living, it is imperative that this condition be remedied, that periodically at least man be given the opportunity to commune with his fellow social beings and to express his solidarity with them. Ceremonial institutions afford just such opportunities. Whatever their stated purpose, "the essential thing is that men are assembled, that sentiments are felt in common, and that they are expressed in common acts."¹¹

Closely related to this cohesive function of ritual is its:
(3) *revitalizing function.* If society is to be kept alive, its members must be made keenly aware of their social heritage. Traditions must be perpetuated, faith must be renewed, values must be transmitted and deeply im-

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 451-52.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 553.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 493.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 553.

bedded. In this task of vitalizing and reanimating the social heritage of a group, ceremony and ritual play an important part. Men celebrate certain rites in order to "remain faithful to the past, to keep for the group its moral physiognomy."¹² A large number of ceremonies include rites whose object it is "to recall the past and, in a way, to make it present by means of a veritable dramatic representation."¹³ These rites serve to sustain the vitality of the social heritage and to keep its essential parts from lapsing from memory and consciousness. In short, they "revivify the most essential elements of the collective consciousness." Through them, "the group periodically renews the sentiment which it has of itself and of its unity; at the same time individuals are strengthened in their social natures."¹⁴ Ceremony functions, then, "to awaken certain ideas and sentiments, to attach the present to the past, the individual to the group."¹⁵ Since it aids in transmitting the social heritage, it may also be said to have an educational function.

Viewed from another angle, ceremony and ritual have: (4) *a euphoric function*.¹⁶ We mean by this that they serve to establish a condition of social euphoria, i.e., a pleasant feeling of social well-being. This function takes on special significance when a group is faced with an actual or a threatened condition of dysphoria. All societies are subject to crises, calamities, disappointments, losses of particular members, and other "dysphoric" experiences. In certain cases the very existence of the group may be in jeopardy. These socially adverse conditions tend to disrupt the smooth functioning of the group; they threaten its sense of well-being, its feeling that all's right

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 530.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 531.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 536.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 541.

¹⁶ *Cf. ibid.*, pp. 591, 613.

with the world. The group attempts, therefore, to counterbalance the disturbing action of these dysphoric situations; and in smoothing its way through crises and adversities, ceremony and ritual are of invaluable service.¹⁷ They perform this function by requiring individuals to have and to express certain emotions and sentiments, and by making them express these sentiments and feelings together.

Consider, for example, the mourning ceremonies. "When a society is going through circumstances which sadden, perplex, or irritate it, it exercises a pressure over its members to make them bear witness, by significant actions to their sorrow, perplexity, or anger."¹⁸ Thus, in the face of a dysphoric experience such as the loss of a member through death, a group exerts moral pressure on its members to make their sentiments harmonize with the situation. They must show that they have been duly affected by the loss. In any case, the group cannot allow them to remain indifferent. For,

to allow them to remain indifferent to the blow which has fallen upon it and diminished it would be equivalent to proclaiming that it does not hold the place in their hearts which is due it; it would be denying itself. A family which allows one of its members to die without being wept for shows by that very fact that it lacks moral unity and cohesion; it abdicates, it renounces its existence.¹⁹

When someone dies, then,

the family group to which he belongs feels itself lessened, and to react against this loss, it assembles . . . collective sentiments are renewed, individuals consequently tend to seek out one another and to assemble together.²⁰

This coming together of individuals, this entering into

¹⁷ Symbols and slogans are also effective, as the Lynds have well illustrated in *Middletown in Transition*.

¹⁸ Durkheim, *op. cit.*, p. 589.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 571.

²⁰ *Loc. cit.*

closer relations with one another, and this sharing of a like emotion give rise to "a sensation of comfort which compensates the original loss." Since the individuals weep together,

they hold to one another, and the group is not weakened. . . . Of course they have only sad emotions in common; but communicating in sorrow is still communicating; and every communion of mind, in whatever form it may be made, raises the social vitality.²¹

We see then that ritual and ceremony in general serve to remake individuals and groups morally.²² They are disciplinary, cohesive, vitalizing, and euphoric social forces.

The above summary sketch of Durkheim's analysis of the social functions of ceremony and ritual can do justice neither to its profundity nor to its wisdom. Durkheim may have been mistaken in his interpretation of certain Australian ceremonies and in his sharp differentiation between magic and religion,²³ and no doubt he erred in considering only religious rites to the practical exclusion of secular ritual²⁴ and in neglecting in general to give due attention to those phenomena that are social but nonreligious.²⁵ His functional analysis of ceremonial and ritualistic institutions, nonetheless, remains, we believe, a major contribution to sociology.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 574.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 529.

²³ See W. L. Warner, "The Social Configuration of Magical Behavior" in *Essays in Anthropology Presented to A. L. Kroeber* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1936).

²⁴ Cf. Dr. Benedict's remarks: "The contention of Durkheim and many others that religion arises from ritualism as such must be challenged, for the most extreme ritualistic formalism does not convert the council of elders or affinal exchange into an aspect of the already existing religious complexes. Durkheim's theoretical position is untenable once it is recognized that ritual may surround any field of behavior and of itself does not give birth to religion any more than it gives birth to art or to social organization." R. Benedict, "Ritual," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. XIII, 1934, p. 396.

²⁵ Cf. A. A. Goldenweiser: "In economic pursuits and in industry, in the ideas and customs clustering about the family or kinship, social factors figure at least as prominently as individual ones, without, however, assuming a halo of sanctity." *Anthropology* (New York: Crofts, 1937), p. 220.

OCCUPATIONAL ATTITUDES AND VALUES OF THE COLLEGE DEAN

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Introduction. The dean occupies a very important place in the administration of the modern college or university. The office, however, is of comparatively recent origin. The first dean in an American college was appointed at Harvard College in 1869.¹ The rise of the deanship to a position of importance is a development of the twentieth century.² Originally a title used by the church and other organizations, the "dean" has been used in institutions of higher learning as a title for administrative officers of different types. Today, one finds in colleges and universities the following types of deans: (a) honorary deans who are given the title in recognition of their seniority and long term of service, (b) deans of the liberal arts colleges, (c) deans of men and deans of women, (d) deans of professional schools and colleges in a university, and (e) deans of graduate schools.

The purpose of this study is to find out how the exercise of the duties and responsibilities of the deanship tends to produce certain attitudes and interests which may be considered characteristic of the incumbents of the office. Of the different types of deans mentioned above, the honorary deans and deans of women are not included in this study. Data for the study were obtained by two methods: (a) by a survey of current literature on college administration in general and on the deanship in particular, and (b) by careful intensive interviews with a number of deans.

¹ F. A. McGinnis, "The Dean and His Duties," *Journal of Higher Education*, 4:196, April, 1933.

² H. E. Hawkes, "College Administration," *ibid.*, 1:245-46, May, 1930.

The nature of the office. "There is . . . no such thing as a standardized dean," says Dean Hawkes of Columbia College.³ The duties and functions of the dean vary with the traditions and special circumstances of institutions and with the type of school or college of which he is the head. There are, too, obvious differences between the duties of the academic dean and those of the dean of men.

The duties of a dean may be grouped under three headings: general administration, teaching, and research. In point of the amount of time devoted to these types of activities, administration ranks first, teaching comes second, and research last. While most deans engage in regular teaching, not many engage in active research.

Studies⁴ have shown that the deans are, in general, mature individuals, usually forty years of age or above; they rank high among their colleagues in academic training and in the advantages of foreign study and travel. Few of them, however, had any special training for the deanship before they took up their duties.

Occupational interests and attitudes. Inasmuch as the majority of the deans have once been full-time professors and are, with only a few exceptions, still engaged in teaching, they share many of the interests and attitudes of the college professor. Indeed, most of the occupational attitudes that have been found characteristic of the college professor may with accuracy be applied to the deans. Moreover, the deans who engage regularly in research activities share the interests and attitudes of the research worker. Since, however, the dean is primarily an administrative officer, it is the purpose of this study to deal with the interests and attitudes which arise from the administrative duties of the dean.

³ Hawkes, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

⁴ Earl J. McGrath, "The Dean," *Journal of Higher Education*, 7:427-32, November, 1936; Clyde A. Milner, "The Dean of the Small College," *Association of American Colleges Bulletin*, 19:244-47, May, 1933; M. S. Ward, *Philosophical Administration Current in the Deanship of the Liberal Arts College* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1934).

1. The dean is *administration-minded*. In dealing with problems his mind is apt to dwell upon the practical administrative aspects, upon the "realities" of the situation. He likes to organize and finds satisfaction in the perfection of organization and the smooth running of administrative machinery. He hates chaos and disorder; he desires system and organization.

2. The administrative mind is *concerned with details*,—the details of organization and administration. The length of the class period, the number of credits, prerequisites for courses, absences on the part of students and professors, grade averages, et cetera—all these and numerous other details are of vital concern to the dean, trivial though they may seem to the professor. A professor would calmly and without any pang of conscience dismiss a class when he feels he must skip a class meeting or two, but such conduct would greatly arouse a dean and would send him chasing around for a substitute instructor, putting up a public notice to inform the class, and seeing to it in a most thoroughgoing manner that no class meeting is omitted. The dean is concerned about standards of scholarship and of student behavior; every little detail, from his point of view, affects the standards.

3. The dean is always *busy*, always *on the rush*. His secretarial staff is not large enough to relieve him of all routine matters, so that he is constantly being "swamped" with routine and details. To try to see a dean without a previous appointment is almost a hopeless task; and even with an appointment one could never tell how long he would have to wait.

4. A dean is, to a greater or lesser extent, *regulations-minded*. His is the duty not only to initiate the rules and regulations, but also to enforce them. He is inclined to judge an act or situation in terms of existing rules and regulations. Rules and regulations concerning the admis-

sion of students, the classification of students, promotion and elimination, qualifications for degrees, standards of conduct, all of these loom large in the thinking of the dean. It would be unfair, however, to infer that all deans are enslaved by rules. Rules are important and necessary; but many deans are successful just because they know when to depart from the rules and regulations. Dean Hawkes expresses well this point of view, as follows:

I want specifically to mention a certain point of view which, during the last six or eight years, has become increasingly convincing to me. Stated in one sentence, it is this: If one is to do one's full duty to the students that are under one's charge, one cannot work by rule.⁵

5. The dean is *efficiency-minded*. Being more interested in the efficiency of administration than in the abstract principle of democratic control, the dean is in favor of concentration of authority in administrative officers rather than in direct participation of faculty in administration through standing committees. Here are some of the statements made on this subject by the deans whom the writer interviewed:—

The ordinary faculty member is neither interested in nor capable of administrative functions.

Committees are often a great waste of time. Much time is wasted in talking; very little is actually accomplished.

I try to divide responsibility among the staff, but there is definite assignment of duties and location of responsibility. As far as possible, I avoid committee work.

The general viewpoint of the deans on this problem of administration is expressed by Dr. Keppel, former dean of Columbia College, in the following words:

⁵ "Dean to Dean," *Proceedings of National Education Association*, 64:448, 1926.

With routine administration . . . he [the professor] should have just as little as possible to do. He has been bred to another type, and disregarding the exceptions to which attention may be called in any general statement, his work of routine administration is badly and expensively done; badly because it is not the work in which he is primarily interested, nor that for which he is temperamentally suited, and there is almost sure to be unnecessary and harassing delay in getting things done; expensively, because its cost must be measured not in terms of money, but in terms of contributions to scholarship, in teaching, and research which might be accomplished in the time thus employed.⁶

6. A dean must have *extrovert inclinations*. He must be able to enjoy human contacts, not only in individual interviews and conferences, but also in group meetings. One of the questions asked in the interviews was whether the frequent interviews and conferences which interrupted office work were found to be irksome. All the deans expressed the pleasure of meeting people and talking over their problems with them. "I plan my work and daily schedule," one of them said, "so that I *expect* to be interrupted during my office hours, and I consider the interviews and conferences not only as an important and necessary form of service but also as a source of much satisfaction." Dean Harry E. Stone, of West Virginia University, writes: "The work of the dean of men in a great university is never done, is never the same and is always with human beings. That's why it's so fascinating."⁷ (It must be added, here, that deans, as a rule, do not care much for the big social functions and formal affairs which college presidents seem to enjoy so much.)

7. Every dean is expected to take an *interest in students*, not only as a group but individually as well. The following brief testimony by Dean Turner of the University of Illinois voices the sentiment of many deans:

⁶ F. P. Keppel, *The Undergraduate and His College* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917), p. 252.

⁷ "The University Dean of Men," *School and Society*, 28:350, September 22, 1928.

After all, the most interesting part of the work of a dean comes with individual cases. There are contributing factors that add interest, but the affairs of individual students into which the dean is drawn from time to time are the ones which give the greatest satisfaction.⁸

This interest in students is an important quality not only of a dean of men, but of an academic dean as well.

8. The combination of the administrative bent and the interest in students results in a deep *concern with records*. Deans spend a good deal of time and thought in keeping records of the academic progress and behavior developments of students. This is particularly true of those deans who have personnel duties. They produce and file questionnaire blanks, interview records, cards, folders, et cetera, and at times an observer is justly led to ask whether these records have not become ends rather than means. The following report by Dean Hawkes illustrates the importance which a dean attaches to files and records. In explaining how he tried to bring about the moral awakening of a delinquent student, he said:

A very effective means of bringing this about is to make a memorandum of the entire incident from start to finish, and read it to the young man. This I always do. I tell him that the memorandum is being placed in my files with his permanent papers and that when I am asked for a recommendation for him I shall use my judgment about using the information on the memorandum.⁹

9. The dean is *boss-minded*. He is the authority next to the president, who, in many cases, entrusts him with full power in matters of internal administration. He has been called "the grand high-priest of yes-and-noism."¹⁰ He is often called upon to make quick decisions and pass judgment upon urgent matters. Exercise of duties in the

⁸ F. H. Turner, "All in a Dean's Day," *Saturday Evening Post*, 205:32, May 13, 1933.

⁹ Hawkes, *op. cit.*, p. 449.

¹⁰ Edgar W. Knight, "Consider the Deans, How They Toil," *School and Society*, 27:652, June 2, 1928.

midst of such conditions leads to an aggressive, domineering personality, and, at times, to dogmatism.

10. And yet a good dean must be a *diplomat*, tactful in his approach. "To straddle is his privilege."¹¹ "In opening an interview in a case of discipline," says Dean Hawkes, "it is never wise to make an accusation."¹² It was said of Dean Briggs of Harvard that he "knew all the ways of saying no."¹³ How a dean manages to administer discipline tactfully and in the manner of a diplomat is shown in the following comment on Dean Briggs:

Of all the sprightly figures that adorn the college scene,
The most supremely genial is our beloved Dean.
He'll kick you out of college, and he'll never shed a tear,
But he does it so politely that it's music to the ear.
He meets you in the anteroom, he grasps you by the hand,
He offers you the easy chair, and begs you not to stand.
"Good morning, Mr. Sporticus! How is your Uncle Jim?
I used to know him well at school—you look so much like him!
And you're enjoying college? Yes? Indeed! I am so glad!
Let's see—six E's? Impossible! How very, very sad!"¹⁴

11. The attitude of the dean toward his faculty is, more often than not, that of *superiority*. He feels that the faculty member is not sufficiently interested in individual students, is too absorbed in his narrow field to have a breadth of view and understanding, and fails to give sufficient co-operation in the enforcement of academic regulations and policies. On the other hand, the faculty do not always cherish tender feelings for the dean. Many a professor would join Dr. Knight in the following tirade against the dean.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 652.

¹² *College—What's the Use?* (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1927), p. 118.

¹³ Rollo Walter Brown, *Dean Briggs* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1926), p. 113.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

You never saw a modern dean who does not swear or affirm upon his word of honor as a dean that he is a living sacrifice for others; and yet the more deans an institution has the more clerical and committee duties the professors are compelled to carry and the less instruction the students get. Much of the machinery and many of the mechanical plagues which afflict higher education can be traced to the uncleared desks of muddle-minded deans.

Consider the deans of the campus, how they toil; and yet few professors in all their alleged indolence get so little done as one of these. The tone of the typical dean is one of injured innocence. Right badly is the dean put upon. He labors to convince himself and his colleagues of the busy and burdensome life which he is called upon to live. He is forever reminding those about him, often by the subtlety of a sacrificial sigh, of the thousand and one things he is to do. If he didn't exaggerate the numbers a trifle he wouldn't be deanish, of course. But the thousand, if there are so many, are an accumulation of the ones which in deaning he devises not to do.

His time is employed in organizing and reorganizing, in summoning his staff to meetings and in appointing committees on his sins of omission. . . . The routine which the dean runs to and to which he runs his professors unfits him and them for the higher life. . . . Given no deans, American professors would be as undisturbed as the head coach and would have some opportunity to develop their personality.¹⁵

12. Compared with the faculty, the dean is usually found to be more *conservative*, at least with regard to the policies of the institution. Being in a responsible position, he feels obliged to defend existing policies and practices, especially when they are under the fire of the faculty. College professors are a group of very critical people, and when they do not have administrative responsibilities they are often free and generous in their criticism of administrative policies. The reply of the dean is that realities must be faced, and that those people not directly related to administrative responsibility often fail to take the realities into account. The following are some of the statements made by deans in the interviews:

¹⁵ Knight, *op. cit.*, p. 651-52.

It is true not only in the colleges, but everywhere else, that irresponsible criticisms are often made by those who are not in administrative offices.

The professor without administrative responsibilities does not see the need of consistency. He can be free with his criticisms and does not have to accept their consequences.

I suppose much of the criticism originates from a feeling of jealousy. Many people would like to have a hand at administration and chafe at being left out.

Administrators are insiders and see all the difficulties involved. Outsiders lack understanding and sympathy.

Persons with administrative responsibility have more perspective and can see the whole picture. The ordinary faculty member does not see all sides of the question; he lacks balance.

13. The term "*occupational centrism*"¹⁶ may be employed to describe the absorption of the dean in his duties and problems. As compared with the professor, the dean has longer hours of work and greater responsibilities. This fact was mentioned by every one of the deans interviewed. The long hours of the dean are also emphasized in the following statement by Dean Turner:

A dean of undergraduates has a curious job. . . . When the telephone rings, it is always problematical what the person at the other end of the wire may desire. When callers come to the office, one can never be sure what the next visitor will want. When the morning mail is opened, it is a standing bet that there will be something new in the mail. No two days are alike, and, for that matter, the same thing might be said about the night.¹⁷

Another phase of occupational centrism is the importance which the dean attaches to his work and profession. This sense of importance is clearly seen in what the deans say about their occupation. Here are a few examples:

¹⁶ E. S. Bogardus, "Personality and Occupational Attitudes," *Sociology and Social Research*, 12:73-79, September-October, 1927.

¹⁷ Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

The kind of question that the Dean of a college is called upon to answer, involving as it does heredity, capacity, ambitions, weak spots of character as well as strong ones, gives him a chance to see further into the mind and heart of youth than almost any other person.¹⁸

The point of contact between the mechanism of the institution and its human membership, often between administrative literalness and common sense, is the dean.¹⁹

The office of the dean of men is a haven to which students, faculty members, parents, landlords and others go when they have a real or fancied grievance or a request they hesitate to take to instructors or to other administrative officers.²⁰

14. *Occupational positivism*²¹ is general among the deans interviewed. They all expressed personal liking for administration and organization, satisfaction in the initiation and execution of plans and programs, and joy in the opportunity for varied contacts on and off the campus. Asked what were the most irksome and disagreeable phases of their work, most deans could not think of any except insufficient funds. Among the gratifying phases of their work mentioned by the deans are: freedom from a crowded teaching schedule, opportunity for trips and attending conferences, watching the development of individual students, personal influence among young people, development of new plans and programs, and others. The deans interviewed were all satisfied with their jobs and expressed desire to remain in their present position. One dean said, "I find complete enjoyment in my work. I would not trade with any other."

At the same time, there is behind occupational positivism—perhaps a part of it—something akin to the psychology of the martyr. The dean is the misunderstood and wronged party. Having to deal with the president, the

¹⁸ Hawkes, *op. cit.*, p. v.

¹⁹ Keppel, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

²⁰ Stone, *op. cit.*, p. 349.

²¹ Bogardus, *op. cit.*

faculty, the students, and other groups of people, he is between the devil and the deep blue sea. One detects such a feeling in the following words of Dean Clark:

When there is an officer whose duty it is to look after the personal interests of students, too many are willing to let him assume all that responsibility. . . . The dean of men is the official buffer between the students and faculty, and he often gets bumped hard by both.²²

Conclusion. Summarizing his study of the different administrative officers in the modern college, Lubbers concludes: "Of all the major offices, that of Dean enjoys the best prospect of growing in influence and prestige."²³

The dean is in such constant and intimate relations with different groups of people in the college that he is either much loved or much hated; people cannot forget the dean or be indifferent to him. His strategic position is summarized by McGinnis as follows:

Despite the fact that the dean's relationships are influenced by his method of election, his tenure of office, and by the size of the institution, it may be said that the dean bears important relationships to every other major official and every general committee in the university or college organization, as well as to the faculty as a whole, the heads of departments of instruction, the individual faculty members, and the students.²⁴

Commanding high respect and prestige and affording much opportunity for creative work and the exercise of initiative, the deanship seems to be drawing into its ranks a high type of talent. When deans become more conscious of the nature of their duties, of the opportunities as well as the pitfalls involved, when they are able to make due adjustment to necessary routine matters and to pay due

²² Thomas A. Clark, "History and Development of the Office of Dean of Men," *School and Society*, 16:70, July 15, 1922.

²³ I. J. Lubbers, *College Organization and Administration* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University, 1932), p. 144.

²⁴ McGinnis, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

regard to details at the same time maintaining a clear perspective of the larger values, when they learn to retain hope and vision in the face of a wide range of duties, some of which seem of no particular importance, and when they learn to put human values above administrative convenience, they will be in a position to render unique service to the cause of higher learning.

DOGMA AND DOCTRINE IN SECRET SOCIETIES

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Secret societies like other social institutions usually emphasize the conventional, moral, and ethical values of the larger social order of which they are a part. They become, therefore, bulwarks of the *status quo*, conservers of traditional morality, transmitters of prevailing social values. With the exception of a few revolutionary and reformist societies that have existed in this country, fraternal orders have tended toward conservatism, frequently an ultraconservatism at that. As repositories of what some prefer to call "bourgeois morality" they seek to inculcate and perpetuate the so-called virtues of honesty, unselfishness, loyalty, piety, chastity, nationalism, and friendship; and the members, in solemn ritualistic pronouncements, give lip service to the popular fashions in moral conduct. They are, in brief, morality institutions.

Regardless of the character of the society, whether it be religious or patriotic, benevolent or convivial, the canons of conduct always figure conspicuously in the ritualism. But they are seldom secret. Although the ceremonies, at least those concerned with initiation, must remain clothed in secrecy, the objects, principles, dogmas, and doctrinal assumptions are usually given wide publicity. They are, after a fashion, the selling points of the fraternities and are emphasized in the recruiting of new members. But the ethical and moral teachings apply, for the most part, to relations within the organization rather than to relations between members and nonmembers. Charity, for example, is emphasized chiefly as it refers

to relationships among the members of the order or between the brethren and their relatives. Beyond the pale of fraternalism there is less inclination for the orders to define or enforce the mode of conduct of their members. It is an instance of in-group morality.

While all secret societies are characterized by an ideological structure, there are variations in the patterns which the dogmas and doctrines assume. Certain types of societies tend to emphasize particular values, sometimes to the exclusion of values paramount in other organizations.

An examination of the rituals and other literature indicates that fraternal ideologies are concerned in the main with the following objectives and principles:

1. *Mutual aid and brotherhood.* If one phrase may be said to summarize the basic philosophy of modern secret societies, it is mutual aid. Representing a form of institutionalized co-operation, fraternal organizations have arisen to meet the exigencies and hazards of life in a social world dominated by the impersonal forces of industrialism and commercialism. In a sense they are the descendants of the Friendly Societies of England which came into existence when the Industrial Revolution changed the manner of living and working to such an extent that new forms of protection and co-operation were made necessary. In this country the transition from an agricultural to an industrial economy has been accompanied by a decline in the personal security once found in the primary groupings of a preindustrial era. To the end of providing protection and security afforded neither by the family nor by industrial organizations has come the modern fraternity with its insurance or other benevolent features. Even those societies that provide no insurance usually maintain homes and institutions for their unfortunate members or otherwise pledge themselves to

a philosophy of mutual assistance. In many instances, secrecy and ritualism appear to be chiefly secondary considerations and means to an end—the end being protection, security, status, and fellowship for the members. It is not surprising, then, that paramount in the doctrines of secret orders should be an emphasis on the virtues of co-operation and mutual aid within the fraternal circle.

The philosophic principles of the order are voiced not only in the ceremonial lectures given to the candidates but also in the nonsecret literature disseminated by the fraternities. In the "declaration of principles" or other statements of objectives is usually expressed the official position with respect to mutual aid and co-operation; and in the ceremonial obligations, the fraternal lectures and instructions, and even in the dramas themselves the members are told the value of assisting one another in times of distress and are impressed with the importance of fraternal kinship and brotherhood.

2. *Patriotism.* The cult of nationalism in this country is manifest in numerous patriotic organizations, both secret and nonsecret. Zealous patriots have capitalized on the intense feeling of patriotism current among certain elements of the population by organizing patriotic societies, the avowed purposes of which are to foster orthodox sentiments of nationalism among members and to spread the gospel of patriotism among nonmembers. In essence, the patriotic ideologies of esoteric and open societies are much the same: both give expression to similar rituals centering around the flag, to similar vows of loyalty, to similar "my-country-right-or-wrong" attitudes. To carry arms in defense of one's flag, to give one's life if necessary for one's country, to protect and preserve the nation's institutions, to oppose unrestricted immigration, and to resist any political or ecclesiastical encroachments by another power—these are the "cardinal virtues" of the

patriotic societies. But the strictly patriotic fraternities are not alone in the exaltation of nationalism; secret societies focused mainly upon religion, benevolence, militarism, or other considerations have likewise provided fertile soil in which have flourished patriotic sentiments.

Among patriotic societies the ceremonial drama at the occasion of initiation is frequently designed to stimulate the spirit of patriotism. In the Ku Klux Klan, for example, a "naturalization" ceremony is the vehicle upon which are conveyed the nationalistic ideas of the Klansmen. Ordinarily, the ritualistic dramas are accompanied by preachments on patriotism by one or more of the presiding officers. Not infrequently the societies have defined their ideologies in terms of specific political theories, religious institutions, or racial and cultural groups. Among the fraternal orders subscribing to an exaggerated form of nationalism are the Junior Order, United American Mechanics; Elks; Daughters of America; Sons and Daughters of Liberty; United Order of Americans; Patriotic Order, Sons of America; and the Fraternal Patriotic Americans. Speaking before the national convention of the Benevolent Protective Order of Elks in 1934, the newly elected Grand Exalted Ruler of the order called upon his brethren to mobilize into "shock troops" and to wage a relentless warfare "until the Red forces of Communism are exterminated from the land," thereby expressing a sentiment fairly representative of the highly nationalistic societies.

3. *Race and nationality.* The expression of patriotism and nationalism goes hand in hand with the doctrines of racial and cultural superiority, found especially among the militantly patriotic brotherhoods and sisterhoods. Even those fraternities voicing a philosophy of tolerance and universal brotherhood ordinarily limit their membership along racial lines. In some the notions

of white supremacy and Anglo-Saxon superiority are the sacred principles of unalloyed patriotism. The Ku Klux Klan, for example, has in recent years made journalistic attacks on Catholics and Communists alike for their alleged sympathies with the doctrine of racial equality. In the ritualistic lecture of the National Associated Clans, an organization which flourished during the period following the World War, the lecturer, after parading the virtues of the Anglo-Saxon "race" before the neophytes, concludes that the "true Anglo-Saxon may have his temporary lapses from morality, but at heart he is a moral man." All or nearly all of the major societies admit only Caucasians to membership. Even the Improved Order of Red Men, a society whose ceremonial *motif* is supposed to be based upon the customs of the American aborigines, excludes the Indian from membership.

Societies of minority racial and cultural groups, while also manifesting to a greater or lesser degree a philosophy of ethnocentrism, frequently advocate closer ties of friendship and a greater degree of co-operation. Among these may be mentioned Jewish and Negro fraternal orders, the latter frequently patterned closely after certain non-Negro orders such as the Masonic fraternity, the Knights of Pythias, and the Odd Fellows. The African Blood Brotherhood, "a fraternity of Negro peoples," is described as "an organization working—openly where possible, secretly where necessary—for the rights and legitimate aspirations of Negro workers against exploitation on the part of either white or black capitalists." Expressing a philosophy more bourgeois in character, and probably also a more typical one, is the Mosaic Templars of America order, which proposes to unify all persons of African descent and to provide insurance protection for its members. The American Order, Sons of St. George, composed exclusively of persons of English background,

while insisting upon an "unhyphenated, one hundred per cent Americanism for all citizens regardless of tongue, creed, color, or race extraction," is committed to a policy of strengthening "the bonds of brotherhood between the two great families of the Anglo-Saxon race in England and America."

4. *Religion.* The God-concept is an important part of Western culture; consequently, it is logical that esoteric societies, reflecting as they do the major features of this civilization, should include within their ideological framework the conception of an omniscient, omnipotent, and anthropomorphic deity. To deny or question the existence of a Supreme Being is to exclude one's self automatically from the mystic realism of fraternalism because belief in a God is the first prerequisite for membership. On the surface of things, at least, there is no place for either the atheist or the agnostic. But while a monotheistic conception of things is all but universal within the fraternal system, many organizations profess to be creedless and nonsectarian in character. The Masonic order, for instance, requires that members believe only in God; otherwise the brands of theology to which they subscribe are of no official concern to the fraternity. In actual practice, however, the Catholic would likely encounter considerable opposition to his application for membership in this order should he have the temerity to jeopardize his own standing in the Church by seeking admittance to a secret society which is not directly or indirectly controlled by the hierarchy.

In a sense the secret society and the church are complementary institutions. In this country there are Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish societies, each of which tends to emphasize and perpetuate the doctrines of the religious organizations from which its members are recruited. Some societies, therefore, bear the unmistakable stamp of

Protestantism, some of Catholicism, and some of Judaism, although all of them are in substantial agreement concerning the primary canons of moral conduct.

In certain Protestant circles of this country there has been a traditional apprehension of Catholic domination. The fear of a Catholic hegemony in political affairs or Jewish domination in economic matters, the fear of ecclesiastical interference in the administration of public education, and the fear of unrestricted immigration largely because of its significance to religious control are undoubtedly important factors in determining the doctrines of certain societies whose members are thoroughly Protestant in their faith. Such organizations as the Sons and Daughters of Liberty, the Loyal Orange Institution, the Ancient and Illustrious Order of Knights of Malta, and the Junior Order United American Mechanics are representative of orders committed to a policy of opposition to Catholicism. The Loyal Orange Institution, for example, a society having its origin in Irish sectarian controversy, announces in its literature that it is contrary to fraternal principles to "persecute any one on account of his or her religious beliefs," but it is nevertheless bound "to resist the encroachments of the church of Rome or any other church or organization that encroaches upon the liberty of the subject."

Catholic societies have evinced less militancy in their formulation of theological and religious principles if their formal assertions are to be taken as evidence.¹ Catholics are ordinarily forbidden by the Church to associate themselves with non-Catholic societies, and as a result of these limitations on their actions there has grown up within the sphere of influence of the Roman Church, and representing an important arm of that organization,

¹ The infamous oath attributed to the Knights of Columbus a few years ago has long since been shown to be a fake.

a number of secret orders bearing the stamp of the Catholic faith.² Most notable of these is the Knights of Columbus, but others are the Ancient Order of Hibernians, the Catholic Knights of America, the Catholic Order of Foresters, and the American Order of United Catholics.

5. *Sexual morality.* Members of secret orders frequently pledge themselves to uphold the prevailing standards of sexual morality. The candidatorial oath concerning sexual irregularities appears to be characteristic only of men's organizations. Whenever sex morals are specifically mentioned in the rituals, the reference is to relations between a member and a female relative or dependent of a fellow fraternalist. Some fraternal orders include in their ritualistic obligation a promise that the new member will not "violate the chastity" of a wife, sister, mother, or daughter of a member of the order. Beyond the circle of fraternalism, however, there are usually no stated taboos against illicit sex relations; as far as any official dictates of the society are concerned, anyone is legitimate prey. The Knights of Pythias novitiate promises, for example, never to "disturb the domestic relations of a brother knight; but, so far as possible, to protect the peace and purity of his household."

6. *Temperance.* The temperance movement in this country was accompanied by the formation of a number of societies whose prime object was to foster the doctrine of total abstinence from alcoholic beverages and incidentally to encourage temperate conduct in other spheres of living. Such fraternities as the Independent Order of Rechabites, introduced from England in 1842, the Templars of Honor and Temperance, and the Independent

² Catholics frequently assert that because the Church is opposed to organized secrecy the Catholic organizations are really not secret societies. From the standpoint of the Church this may be correct, since ecclesiastical officials can always gain admittance to ceremonials or other fraternal activities. But non-Catholics are not admitted, and from their point of view the ritualism is quite as secret as that of any other fraternal order.

Order of Good Templars are examples of societies that have placed temperance morality above all else. Many of these orders existed long before the prohibition movement came into existence and probably laid the foundation for antisaloon and antialcohol sentiment which was later crystallized in the social reform legislation of the present century. Like most of the other societies, these organizations have woven their ideologies into the ceremonial fabric by way of making the doctrines more impressive. In all instances the novice on entering the fraternity takes an oath of sobriety—not mere abstemiousness, but complete abstinence from intoxicating liquors.

7. *Social reform.* It has been noted that fraternal orders tend to be conservative or even reactionary and therefore to resist social change. There are, of course, exceptions to this general tendency. In Europe many of the secret societies have been subversive and revolutionary in character. Partly because of the relative calm of the American political scene, no doubt, few fraternal societies in this country have expressed a reformist philosophy or engaged in revolutionary activities. The old Knights of Labor, forerunner of the American Federation of Labor, was in its early stages a secret organization with a definite socialistic point of view. Later it dropped the element of secrecy and became an open society. Another exception is the Utopian Society, a politico-fraternal organization which started as a reform movement in California during the depression. Although advocating allegiance to the Constitution, the society is essentially unorthodox in economic philosophy. Indeed, in the last of the five ritualistic "cycles" a proposal is made for the public ownership and control of industry.

These, then, are the major ideological patterns of secret fraternalism in contemporary America. While the specific content of the doctrines may vary from one society

to another, depending on the specific type of organization and the paramount function which it performs, all of the orders are based upon some ideological assumptions which they seek to inculcate through ceremonial and other devices. For some of the societies the dogmas appear to be the all-important feature; for others they are obviously of lesser importance. Just how effective the societies are in inculcating their members with these doctrines it is not possible to say. In the juvenile organizations, many of which are ancillary to the organizations for adults, it is probable that the fraternities succeed in impressing the tender minds of the adolescents; in the older group, the members and neophytes no doubt accept the principles because they have already been conditioned by previous experience to this point of view. As in most cases of specifically formulated beliefs and canons of conduct, the behavior of the adherents probably falls far short of the ideal in actual practice. But the fact that millions of Americans are identified with secret societies and presumably subscribe to the fraternal ideologies makes the institution of esoteric fraternalism a conservative force in society and, therefore, a factor to be reckoned with in the matter of social change and social reconstruction.

SOCIAL DISTANCE BETWEEN CHINA AND JAPAN

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Inasmuch as the contemporary conflict between China and Japan is objectifying many of the similarities and dissimilarities of their respective cultures, this is an opportune time to undertake a study of the factors making for social distance between these two countries. The major term used in this paper is social distance. Professor Bogardus thinks of social distance as the degrees of sympathetic understanding which exist between (1) two persons, (2) a person and his group, or (3) between any two social groups.¹ While the chief interest will be centered on the social distance between the large social groups, namely China and Japan, some reference will be made to person-group distance. The term, social nearness, is used to describe those factors which represent short social distance relationships between China and Japan; consequently, the term, social farness, refers to strained relationships between these two nations.

Social nearness factors. Because most of the factors representing social nearness between China and Japan are imbedded in a matrix of similar cultures, they have resisted remarkably well the impact of the contemporary social farness factors.

1. Geographic proximity has made China and Japan natural neighbors. Between the continent of Asia and Japan there is a number of islands which serve to bring

¹ Emory S. Bogardus, "Social Distance and Its Practical Implications," *Sociology and Social Research*, 22:462, May-June, 1938.

these two countries physically close together. These islands have functioned as steppingstones for the spread of peoples and a diffusion of their cultures from Asia into Japan.

2. Anthropologically, the Chinese and the Japanese have a number of significant similarities. They have been known popularly as the yellow races because of the apparent and real similarity of these peoples. Several of the racial stocks of the continental peoples are to be found in Japan. The people of the West who discriminate against the so-called yellow races have a tendency to objectify the anthropological nearness which exists between the Chinese and Japanese. It is now well known that the anthropologists consider both of them Mongoloids.

3. A considerable portion of the cultural patterns of China and Japan is similar. Japan has taken from China many of the most significant aspects of its contemporary culture. (1) Japan has borrowed the basis for its written language from the Chinese characters. (2) In the fine arts the influence of China has been tremendous. Architecture, painting, pottery, and sculpture were imported from China. (3) Many of the customs of China and Japan are similar. Perhaps the tea ceremony, although greatly modified by the Japanese, is the best example of a common custom. (4) While the religion of Buddhism is common to both China and Japan, the philosophy of Confucianism is also prevalent in both these countries.

4. International relations between China and Japan have been characterized by what might be termed pseudo-social nearness. The Japanese have usually claimed to be nearer to the Chinese than *vice versa*. Because the Japanese have resorted chiefly to words denoting social nearness without carrying into action a genuine expression of these words, the Chinese naturally have become very suspicious of the reputed friendship of Japan. The key

word in this pseudo-social nearness relationship is co-operation. However, the Chinese recently have been forced to interpret the key word to mean exploitation of their natural resources by a few but powerful Japanese industrialists with the aid of the military.

Social farness factors. On the whole, the factors furthering social distance between China and Japan are of more recent origin and probably will be of more temporary consequence than the social nearness factors.

1. Both China and Japan have borrowed different aspects of Western culture. While China has been more interested in Western ideals of democracy and education, Japan has borrowed Western techniques of imperialism and industrialism.² Thus China and Japan have integrated into their respective cultures antithetical Western patterns which unfortunately have provided the basis for many social farness factors.

2. The attempt of Japan to secure economic control in China has increased the social distance between these two countries. Japan has insisted with military force that China's predominantly agricultural economy is a natural complement to Nippon's industrial order. This imperialistic attitude of Japan has caused the Chinese to utilize the following two forms of retaliation: (1) anti-Japanese campaigns, especially manifested in the schools, in the economic boycott of Japanese manufactured goods, and in propaganda organizations; and (2) industrialization of certain key industries, namely, the textiles.

3. While the Chinese political organization has been permeated for many centuries with a spirit of democratic idealism, Japan has been subject to a highly autocratic and imperialistic realism. The militarists of Japan have been the guiding force behind the ruthless thrust for

² Adapted from Professor Clarence Marsh Case's lecture to a seminar in ethnology at The University of Southern California, October 26, 1937.

more Japanese territory at China's expense. The key political positions in the Japanese cabinet and government have been given to former generals. This fact partially accounts for the aversion that the Japanese government has toward arbitration. Militarists have been occupationally trained to conquer rather than to arbitrate the differences between nations. Thus it has been the forces of democratic nationalism of China versus the forces of imperialistic nationalism of Japan.

4. China and Japan have depicted each other in stereotypes that are not typical of the average citizen of either of these two countries; however, because of the emotional content of these stereotypes they have become subtle factors creating almost a permanent farness of the person-to-group variety. Although, on the one hand, it will take many years for the Chinese to overcome their conception that the average Japanese person is not a militarist, it probably will take an even longer time for the Japanese to overcome their stereotyped mental picture that the Chinese are a nation of bandits and communists.

5. International relations have played a significant role in increasing social distance between these two countries because they have unfortunately antagonized Japan toward China. In the Nine-Power Treaty Japan was almost compelled to extend to the Chinese the "unembarrassed opportunity" to develop China as they deemed best. The Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact has furthered social farness because it was a democratic treaty. The militarists of Japan have been violently opposed to the democratic method because it did not protect their special interests and promote Japanese co-operation; hence, in 1932 Japan withdrew from the League of Nations.

6. The allies of both China and Japan have been international factors making for social farness. China has had the three most powerful World Powers, Russia, the

United States, and Great Britain, as its friendly allies. (1) Russia has been feared by Japan. The Japanese have felt that the interest of any third power in the affairs of China was aimed at reducing Japanese influence on the continent. Even though the type of communism predominant in a few parts of China was radically different from the Russian type, the Japanese have claimed that they have had to protect themselves from communism by sending armies into China. (2) The desire of the United States that the difficulties between China and Japan be settled in a democratic manner has tended to antagonize the Japanese toward the Chinese. In fact, the Japanese have thought that the Chinese have been instrumental in suggesting boycotts against Japanese products sold in America. (3) Another ally of China has been Great Britain. The British textiles have long been subject to the competition of Japanese textiles in India; hence England's friendship with China has been an economic advantage to the English. On the other hand, Japan has had the most powerful Fascist powers in Europe as her allies, namely, Germany and Italy. Since China has democratic allies and Japan has totalitarian allies, the farness between the two countries has been augmented.

At the time that this study was undertaken the factors making for social farness were more evident than the social nearness factors. However, the greater evidence of social farness factors now does not necessarily indicate that they are any more important than the social nearness factors, because the factors making for social nearness between these two countries are fundamental and in most cases are a part of the common traditions of both China and Japan. The social farness factors have been of more recent origin largely due to the abnormal development of Japan. It is thus quite probable that, if this study were to be made at a later date when peace prevails between

these two countries, the factors making for social nearness would be more apparent and significant than the factors creating social farness between China and Japan.

Tentative social distance principles. 1. The interference of any third power in the direct international relations of two nations will generally increase the social distance between these two nations.

2. International arbitration is a technique for the reduction of social distance between nations, because it objectively sets forth the common problems and difficulties of the two nations free from propaganda and stereotypes.

3. Inasmuch as ideologies are basic to practices, they are the primary factors causing social nearness or social farness between nations.

4. Professions of co-operation on the part of one nation toward another, if judged to promote the self-interest of the first nation, create national farness.

5. While one nation because of its cherished ideals may look down upon another, the second nation because of a pride in its practical accomplishments may look down upon the first, and thus both will augment social farness in the vertical plane.

6. If a nation characterized by a great deal of farness among its members is attacked by another nation, the internal farness gives way to intranational nearness.

7. Adverse stereotypes framed in deep-seated sentiments constitute serious obstacles in the promotion of international nearness.

IMPORTANT WORKS IN SOCIOLOGICAL LITERATURE

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It is characteristic of the development of sociology that the trend of its literature shows a conflict between the old and the new, an ever-present problem of permanence and change seen in the growth of all fields of knowledge. On the one hand is a rather conservative group of students of sociology who persistently hold to the traditional literature of the field and discount the new. On the other hand is a liberal group who enthusiastically patronize the cult of the new and discount the old.

Intensifying this conflict is an ever-growing volume of literature reflecting numerous points of view. In sociology, as in every branch of the arts and sciences, students are more and more swamped by floods of new periodicals and texts upon their special subjects. A certain confusion is the consequence: confusion as to proper selection of study material, and confusion as to the aims of sound education brought on by the popular delusion that one's good standing, academic or otherwise, demands keeping up with everything turned off the press.

In spite of the good quality of much of the newer literature, the regrettable feature of its voluminous growth is that it results in a feverish keeping up with the sociological Joneses and thereby detracts the student's attention from much of the older, yet important and basic, works of the field. It would seem that many students of sociology are coming to read more *about* what a certain man wrote and are reading less of what he actually wrote. Moreover,

students who desire to strike a more satisfactory balance by devoting attention to the older as well as to the newer literature are often at a loss to know what selection of material to make.

It is precisely out of this situation that there arises a present and urgent need for taking stock of the past and contemporary literature of the field of sociology, and of determining what is most fundamental and most worthy of the student's attention. There are undoubtedly many candidates for advanced degrees who would welcome at least a partial fulfillment of this need. Such an appraisal not only would serve graduate students, but would be of distinct benefit to the teaching of sociology on the undergraduate level as well. Indeed, it is only as attention on the undergraduate level is brought to the most worthwhile and basic sociological literature that graduate study and research of high quality are to be expected.

With this situation in mind, it has seemed fitting and important to get a consensus of opinion among sociologists as to what are the most fundamental works in the general field of sociology. The present article constitutes a report upon the results of just such an experiment.

Letters were sent to fifty-six of the better-known sociologists of the United States and Canada. Each was asked to prepare a list of what he considered to be the twenty most fundamental books or works in the general field of sociology, books every sociology student might be expected to have read or to know something about before receiving a graduate degree. Selection was to be made from whatever point of view in sociology one wished to take, using whatever criteria desired, and from whatever subfields of sociology desired. It was suggested that the list should perhaps extend back no farther than the works of Comte, but permission was given to go back to Hammurabi if one wished. In the answers received there was

indicated some difficulty of choice because the specifications given were not more exact. These specifications, however, were purposely made general in order that the expression of opinion might be as free and spontaneous as possible.

Out of the original 56 letters sent, 32 answers were received. Of these 32, only 23 contained lists capable of being tabulated for purposes of making up a composite list. Some of the group of 32 contained references to bibliographies, and lists were submitted which for similar purposes had already been prepared. These were excluded, since it was desired to use only those lists which were individual and direct expressions of the parties consulted. Moreover, some took the liberty of submitting lists of more than twenty references without indicating any order of preference. In view of this situation, all references were considered in the final count, and the composite list submitted at the close of this article has therefore been extended beyond the original twenty asked for.

As might be expected, the lists submitted were extremely varied, in point both of the subfields of sociology and of the period covered. The 23 lists tabulated contained a total of 203 separate references, and the period covered ranged all the way from the writings of Confucius to forthcoming publications! For purposes of preparing the composite list of most favored references, each reference was given one vote for each time it appeared on one of the lists. The final list of 33 references presented here includes all those which were given five or more votes. It is interesting to note that William Graham Sumner's *Folkways* is a decided favorite. Following close behind *Folkways* are Herbert Spencer's *The Principles of Sociology*, Auguste Comte's *The Course of Positive Philosophy*, Edward A. Ross's *Social Control*, and Lester F. Ward's *Dynamic Sociology*.

A word of caution, however, must be given as to the interpretation of this final list. It must be recognized that those who submitted the lists represent a number of interests, influences, and schools of thought. Some schools of thought are more heavily represented than others, and in some cases more than one list have been submitted from the same institution. It is therefore obvious that in some respects the composite list is statistically biased, and, with the possible exception of Sumner's *Folkways*, not a great deal of significance is to be attached to the final ranking of the references. In a sample of only 23 lists, one or two lists one way or the other might easily reverse the ranking of several of the references. Moreover, there is nothing final and conclusive about such a list. The value of a man's book or his work certainly cannot be determined by taking a vote. References showing only a few votes on the final list may be as significant and valuable as those showing a higher number of votes, and there are undoubtedly many works not here included which are as valuable as those that are included.

In spite of these considerations, it is perhaps safe to conclude that the references given in the following composite list are of basic significance to the general field of sociological study, and that the student whose major interest lies in this field will find it to his advantage to have more than a superficial acquaintance with them.

COMPOSITE LIST OF IMPORTANT SOCIOLOGICAL WORKS AS VOTED
UPON BY TWENTY-THREE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGISTS

19 Votes:

William Graham Sumner, *Folkways: A Study of the Sociological Importance of Usages, Manners, Customs, Mores, and Morals*, Boston: Ginn and Company, 1906.

16 Votes:

Herbert Spencer, *The Principles of Sociology* (3 vols.), New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1880-97.

15 Votes:

Auguste Comte, *Cours de Philosophie Positive*, Paris: Bailliere, 1864. Translated and condensed by Harriet Martineau under the title *The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte*, London: I. Chapman, 1853.

Edward A. Ross, *Social Control: A Survey of the Foundations of Order*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1901.

Lester F. Ward, *Dynamic Sociology*, New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1883.

14 Votes:

Charles Horton Cooley, *Social Organization: A Study of the Larger Mind*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909.

Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1921 and 1924.

W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (second edition, 2 vols.), New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927.

12 Votes:

Georg Simmel, *Soziologie*, Leipzig, 1908. For Simmel's general point of view treated in English, see Nicholas I. Spykman, *The Social Theory of Georg Simmel*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1925.

10 Votes:

Franklin H. Giddings, *The Principles of Sociology: An Analysis of the Phenomena of Association and of Social Organization*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1896.

Gabriel Tarde, *The Laws of Imitation* (translated from the 2nd French edition by Elsie C. Parsons), New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1903.

9 Votes:

Charles Horton Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902.

Edward A. Ross, *The Principles of Sociology*, New York: The Century Company, 1920.

8 Votes:

Emile Durkheim, *On the Division of Labor in Society* (translated by George Simpson), New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933.

Albion W. Small, *General Sociology: An Exposition of the Main Development in Sociological Theory from Spencer to Ratzenhofer*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1905.

7 Votes:

John Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct: An Introduction to Social Psychology*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1922.

William F. Ogburn, *Social Change with Respect to Culture and Original Nature*, New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1922.

Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1928.

Ferdinand Tönnies, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, Leipzig: Hans Burke, 1883.

Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study in the Evolution of Institutions*, New York: Vanguard Press, 1932.

Lester F. Ward, *Pure Sociology: A Treatise on the Origin and Spontaneous Development of Society*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1903.

6 Votes:

Peter A. Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1917.

Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critical Analysis of Capitalist Production* (translated by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling), New York: The Humboldt Publishing Company, 1902.

Clark Wissler, *Man and Culture*, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1923.

5 Votes:

Walter Bagehot, *Physics and Politics: or, Thoughts on the Application of the Principles of "Natural Selection" and "Inheritance" to Political Society*, New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1873.

Charles Horton Cooley, *Social Process*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918.

Emile Durkheim, *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (translated by J. W. Swain), London: George Allen and Unwin, no date.

Charles A. Ellwood, *The Psychology of Human Society: An Introduction to Sociological Theory*, New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1925.

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- Franklin H. Giddings, *Studies in the Theory of Human Society*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922.
- Ludwig Gumplowicz, *Der Rassenkampf*, Innsbruck: Wagner, 1928.
- Floyd N. House, *The Development of Sociology*, New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1936.
- William Graham Sumner and Albert G. Keller, *The Science of Society* (4 vols.), New Haven: Yale University Press, 1927.
- Leopold von Wiese, *Systematic Sociology* (translated, adapted, and amplified by Howard Becker on the basis of the *Beziehungslehre* and *Gebildelehre*), New York: J. Wiley and Sons, 1932.

ECOLOGICAL FACTORS IN RURAL CHURCH INTEGRATION

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In 1927, Arthur E. Holt pointed out some general relationships between ecological processes and the growth, maintenance, and decline of churches.¹ The present writer took Holt's observations as a point of departure, but focused his attention upon a small area for intensive study. Thirty-four rural agricultural communities located in Cass, Saline, and Seward counties, Nebraska, were studied throughout the period of white settlement, 1854-1935. The specific research problem was directed toward determining the factors which have conditioned the life cycle of churches in these communities. In a previous article phases in the life cycle were described and the social factors that conditioned each one were analyzed and interpreted.² The present paper is concerned, first, with pointing out the ecological factors which have conditioned the development of the different communities studied; second, with showing the influences exerted by these factors on the life cycle of churches located in the different sized communities. Finally, we are interested in pointing out the relationship between the ecological position of a community in the larger structure of our metropolitan economy and the survival of churches in it.

Demographically and functionally the community centers studied and their supplementary hinterland fall into four classes depending upon their size and the amount of

¹ Arthur E. Holt, "The Ecological Approach to the Church," *The American Journal of Sociology*, 33:72-79.

² A. B. Hollingshead, "The Life Cycle of Nebraska Rural Churches," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. II, June, 1937.

functional differentiation found in them: (1) the county town or "rurban" center;³ (2) towns;⁴ (3) villages;⁵ and (4) the open country.⁶ The ecological factors which have determined this differentiation may be broadly classified as geographic and cultural. Each of the three sites which developed into county towns has occupied, since the railroads came in the early 1870's, the most favorable position in the network of transportation. Each early became the junction for two railroads; after the automobile came two or more state highways were built through each town. None of these sites possesses any unique natural resources not found in many other places in this area, so we may say that geography has been a passive factor in their development. However, when we turn to the towns we find that their differentiation from the villages may be attributed to both transportation and geographic factors. All were located on the mainline of a railroad in the early days; later a state highway passed through them. Besides this, four of them were adjacent to millsites that were utilized as centers for flourmilling during the pioneer period; two still hold this distinction. The fifth town has a large deposit of gravel on its outskirts, that has been

³ Three community centers are in this class: Plattsmouth, Cass County, population 3,793; Crete, Saline County, population, 2,865; Seward, Seward County, population, 2,737. Population figures are for 1930. Source: *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Population, Vol. I, Washington, 1931, pp. 669, 681-82.*

⁴ Five community centers fall in this class: Weeping Water, population 832, and Louisville, population 969, Cass County; Friend, population, 1,214, and Wilber, population, 1,352, Saline County; Milford, population, 1,029, Seward County. Population figures are for 1930. Source, *ibid.*

⁵ Twenty-six village centers are in this class: Alvo, Avoca, Eagle, Elmwood, Greenwood, Manley, Murdock, Murray, Mynard, Nehawka, South Bend, and Union, Cass County; Dewitt, Dorchester, Swanton, Tobias, and Western, Saline County; Tamora and Utica, Seward County. They ranged in size from 100 to 539 inhabitants in 1930. Source, *ibid.*

⁶ The open country comprises all unincorporated territory. In the counties studied this is approximately all farm land; there are no unincorporated villages. In 1930, the density of population per square mile for open country territory was: Cass County, 22.3; Saline County, 15.5; Seward County, 18. Source, *ibid.*, plus the computation of the number of square miles in each county less the area covered by the incorporated towns and villages, divided by the number of open country dwellers.

utilized since its founding, first by the railroads as ballast for their roadbeds, later by the state highway department for roads. Village sites were mere stations on the railroad; they did not have any attractive features which would draw more population to them than was essential to the maintenance of a simple service center for a very limited area. The influence of the railroad as a conditioning factor in the determination of a particular place's ecological position cannot be overemphasized as the railroad by political strategy controlled practically all possible townsites. This condition has profoundly affected the subsequent history of institutions located in it.

Organization of congregations. Historically, development in these communities can be divided into two eras: first, the years of settlement, 1854-1890; second, the period of community maturation, 1890 to the present. The settlement period, in turn, may be characterized as the prerailroad and the railroad years. In the prerailroad years settlement on the high plains was almost entirely limited to isolated farmsteads located at favorable sites near the rivers, creeks, and wooded areas where a spring furnished a water supply. Functional differentiation between one neighborhood and another was limited to small hamlets located on a stream near a millsite, where a freight road crossed a river, or where two freight routes intersected. Such places usually supported a general store; a postoffice, usually in the store; a blacksmith shop; livery stable; grist mill; sometimes a hotel, school, and church congregation. Such emergent village centers were ephemeral; they rapidly passed away when the railroads came and laid the foundation for a permanent framework in which the present community patterns have developed. During the prerailroad years religious denominations organized congregations wherever there were enough people of their particular faith to begin holding meetings.

Throughout the first fifteen years of settlement most congregations were organized in the country where the settlers lived in neighborhoods or loosely knit hamlets. Ecological position exerted little or no influence on where congregations were organized during these formative years (Table I).

When the railroads began to be surveyed and built, profound changes occurred. The center of population, as it is today, was in the country, but the railroad and the station site were the center of interest; they embodied the hopes of the struggling pioneer that the benefits of civilization would soon reach him. Consequently, they effectively determined where community institutions were located. As soon as some particular spot was designated a "townsite" by the engineers and officers of the railroad land company,⁷ community services, among them church congregations, were organized there by the promoters backing the proposed town, rather than where the settlers actually located. We might say, looking back over a perspective of nearly seventy years, that the strategically located railroad station determined, in the main, the chances a church congregation had for survival.

The immediate influence of the railroad as far as we are concerned is illustrated, first, by pointing out that few congregations were organized in the country after 1885 when the last railroad was surveyed; second, by indicating the modal year for the organization of congregations in each class of community center. In the county towns the mode occurred in 1870, when these three sites were designated "terminals and junctions" on the Burlington and Missouri River and the Midland Pacific railroads then being effectively projected in eastern Nebraska. The mode for the towns fell in 1873, when the railroads ac-

⁷ Data furnished by the executive vice-president of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad Company, Chicago, Illinois.

tually began to function in this area and these sites took on local importance. The present village sites were not so strategically situated in the transportation network, so they built up slowly, and the mode did not occur in them until 1884. The country territory was well settled by 1873 and the mode for organization fell in that year.

TABLE I

THE NUMBER OF CONGREGATIONS ORGANIZED BY FIVE-YEAR INTERVALS IN EACH TYPE OF DISTRIBUTION, 1854-1935

<i>Interval</i>	<i>County Towns</i>	<i>Towns</i>	<i>Villages</i>	<i>Country</i>
1854-1855	1		4	6
1856-1860	3	1	7	13
1861-1865	1	2	6	5
1866-1870	7	3	14	9
1871-1875	6	9	24	19
1876-1880	3	5	18	10
1881-1885	3	5	25	4
1886-1890	2	3	18	3
1891-1895	1	1	7	2
1896-1900	1	2	2	1
1901-1905		1	4	1
1906-1910			3	
1911-1915			1	
1916-1920				
1921-1925				
1926-1930			1	
1931-1935				
TOTALS	28	32	134	73

Source: Denominational records, record books of individual churches, local histories, newspapers, and interviews.

Erection of buildings. The second phase in the life cycle of churches, the building of an edifice, indicates the influence of ecological position from both the standpoint of the time when churches were built and the percentage of congregations financially strong enough to build in each type of functional distribution. The site occupied

by a county town developed into the most influential center in the county within five years after the railroads came. It built up most rapidly, attracting more wealth, functions, and cultural attainments than smaller places. The economic surplus concentrated in them was reflected in the erection of buildings there sooner than in the towns, villages, and the open country (Table II). The first church building in these communities was erected in Plattsmouth in 1857, from then on churches were built in the county towns; the mode fell in 1874, when 8 buildings were erected. The first church in a town was erected in 1870; the modal year for building fell in 1880. Building in the villages and open country likewise began in 1870. From then on church buildings were erected as rapidly as the membership could afford the expense; the modal year for both distributions was 1885. The time lag

TABLE II

THE NUMBER OF EDIFICES BUILT IN EACH TYPE OF DISTRIBUTION
BY FIVE-YEAR INTERVALS, 1856-1935

<i>Interval</i>	<i>County Towns</i>	<i>Towns</i>	<i>Villages</i>	<i>Country</i>
1856-1860	1			
1861-1865	1			
1866-1870	6	1	1	3
1871-1875	8	3	6	6
1876-1880	3	9	19	7
1881-1885	4	7	20	14
1886-1890	1	3	17	5
1891-1895	1	2	10	4
1896-1900	2	2	6	3
1901-1905		2	6	
1906-1910			3	
None after 1911			2	
TOTAL	27	29	90	42

Source: Denominational records, record books of individual churches, local histories, newspapers, and interviews.

of 6 years between the modes of building in the county towns and the towns reflects the influence exerted by the more favorable position of the county town in the transportation network over the town which drew to it population, wealth, and economic activities. In turn, the 5 year lag between the towns and the villages is indicative of the ecological differential between these two kinds of community centers.

Another significant relation between ecological position and the building phase of the life cycle became apparent when the number of buildings erected to the number of congregations organized was computed on a percentage basis. It was found that in the county towns a building was erected for each congregation organized; in the towns only 90.6 per cent of the congregations were able to finance a building; in the villages the percentage of buildings erected to congregations organized was 67.2 per cent; in the country the figure dropped to 57.5 per cent (Table III).

Death of churches. The conditioning influence of a community's ecological position on the survival of churches in it may first be pointed out by the analysis of deaths over the period studied. Church deaths have oc-

TABLE III

TOTAL NUMBER OF CONGREGATIONS ORGANIZED, BUILDINGS ERECTED, AND CHURCH DEATHS IN EACH SIZED COMMUNITY; ALSO PERCENTAGE OF BUILDINGS AND DEATHS TO CONGREGATIONS ORGANIZED IN EACH, 1854-1935

	<i>County Towns</i>		<i>Towns</i>		<i>Villages</i>		<i>Country</i>	
	<i>Num- ber</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>Num- ber</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>Num- ber</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>Num- ber</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Congregations	28	100.0	32	100.0	134	100.0	73	100.0
Buildings	28	100.0	29	90.6	90	67.2	42	57.5
Deaths	4	14.3	15	40.9	63	47.0	61	83.7

Source: Denominational records, record books of individual churches, local histories, newspapers, and interviews.

curred in all four classifications, but there is a strong tendency for them to be concentrated in the towns, villages, and open country. In fact, death is the most characteristic phenomenon in the church process in the country, and almost a one to one ratio in the towns and villages. Looking back over the years it was found that country churches have been most susceptible to death, those in the villages to a lesser extent, those in the towns slightly less than in the villages, churches in the county towns the least. Eighty-three and seven-tenths per cent of the country, 47.0 per cent of the village, and 40.9 per cent of the town churches have died. In contrast to these, churches in the county towns have maintained themselves remarkably well; only 14.3 per cent have succumbed (Table III).

Another way used to view the relation between the survival of churches and ecological position was to determine the number of inhabitants to each church in communities of a given size at specific times. This was done and the findings are given in Table IV. The period 1890-1930 was used because comparable data could not be obtained for the earlier decades. The number of inhabitants to each church has consistently increased in each sized community since 1890, but the increase has not been uniform either by decades or for the different classes of communities. The country territory shows the greatest increase of inhabitants per church and the county town the least (Table IV). Figures for the country indicate that it is a distribution apart from the others, and subject either to different factors or to more intensive operation of the same factors operative in the villages, towns, and county towns. On a percentage basis the increase of persons to a church was: county towns, 12.1 per cent; towns, 37.0 per cent; villages, 51.3 per cent; open country, 145.9 per cent. It is assumed that these figures are indicative of the relative degree of decadence in the churches located

in each sized community. If this assumption is sound, then there is a direct relationship between the size of a community and the survival of churches in it. If we assume that these figures, along with others presented in this paper, are an index of the intensity of factors leading to church deaths, then we find that the process is 2.8 times as intense in the open country as in the villages; 1.4 times as intense in the villages as in the towns; 3.0 times as intense in the towns as the county towns. The problem now confronting us is the interpretation of these findings in terms of the ecological influences exerted on these rural communities by our metropolitan economy.

TABLE IV

AVERAGE NUMBER OF INHABITANTS TO EACH CHURCH CONGREGATION IN COUNTY TOWNS, TOWNS, VILLAGES, AND THE OPEN COUNTRY BY DECADES, 1890-1930

<i>Year</i>	<i>County Towns</i>	<i>Towns</i>	<i>Villages</i>	<i>Country</i>
1890	332.7	172.2	70.5	877.6
1900	347.2	180.0	91.2	1,312.4
1910	351.9	224.3	91.2	1,601.3
1920	375.1	231.3	103.6	2,134.3
1930	391.4	245.0	106.7	2,157.3

Source: Denominational records, record books of individual churches, local histories, newspapers, and interviews.

Interpretation and conclusion. The investigator is of the opinion that ecological factors which determine the position of communities in our society are significant conditioners in the operation of the processes that are gradually disintegrating the rural church.

Obviously, from the data presented here, these processes are not operating with equal intensity in all rural communities; on the contrary, they are highly selective in their operation. Churches in the county town or rural center are only slightly subject to them, whereas those in

the smaller places and the open country are doomed by the inexorable sureness with which death overtakes church after church. This differential in the intensity of the decadence process can, perhaps, be adequately explained on the basis of ecological position. This hypothesis may be clarified by an analysis of the position each sized community occupies in our industrially-commercially organized ecological and social order.

The county town is the largest and most important community center in the local area it integrates and dominates; the smaller centers scattered over the county are economically, politically, and culturally subordinate to it. The greatest degree of functional specialization in the county is found in the rural center; here the important local extensions of our urban civilization have their headquarters. Ecologically it occupies the most favorable position in the network of competitive relations in the localized area it dominates. Consequently, the county town has drawn to it the largest population and the greatest number of cultural functions. In each county studied there exists one or two towns from one third to one half as large as the county towns. Territorially they are independent, but functionally subordinate to it. Markedly fewer services are maintained in them and they are not so functionally specialized as the larger center. In addition to these more important towns, from a half-dozen to a dozen villages have developed at stations located along the railroads. The villages are small in size and relatively simple in their functional differentiation.⁸ The open country lies outside of, but territorially adjacent to and within the service area of each type of nucleated center. The farms, in these counties, average 169.3 acres in size. Nucleated

⁸ For an analysis of the specialized services performed by towns in the Middle West for communities relatively the size of these see J. H. Kolb and R. A. Polson, *Trends in Town-Country Relations*, Research Bulletin 117, September, 1933, Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Wisconsin.

center and farm hinterland are functionally and structurally bound into a network of community relations both on the levels of social and ecological interaction.⁹ These communities, in turn, are intricately connected with larger and more distant centers such as Lincoln and Omaha. The most isolated farmstead is directly connected both structurally and functionally with the community center whose trade area it is in; indirectly with the distant metropolis.

Turning now to the relation of the church to each one of these community types, we find that the county towns are ecologically the most favorable centers in these communities, and institutions in them are more stable and less subject to the rigors of survival found in the smaller centers. Churches located in the county towns are managing, on the whole, to survive very well, evidently because these towns are advantageously situated in the network of ecological and social relations found in our society. On the basis of the evidence presented here, we come to the opposite conclusion with respect to open country churches. The country neighborhood is apparently the least favorable ecological distribution for the maintenance of institutional structures, it is the least integrated, and the most highly specialized. The spatial position of the country church in our urban culture, dominated by centripital forces technological in nature, early placed it in direct competition with secular and religious institutions located in the town or village. In this competition the rural church was forced to take a subordinate place; slowly it has been forced to close its doors. Consequently, the largest proportion of deaths has occurred in the country. Towns and villages occupy an intermediate position between the county town and the open coun-

⁹ For a definition of these terms see: J. A. Quinn, "Ecological Versus Social Interaction," *Sociology and Social Research*, 18: 565-70.

try. The churches located in them reflected this when we viewed them in terms of the decadence process. Although town and village churches are better able to withstand the rigors of the struggle for survival than the open country churches, they are definitely decadent institutions when viewed over a relatively long period. On the whole, they do not give much promise of being able to maintain their present strength. Apparently under the ecological and social conditions now obtaining in these small high plains communities, most churches located in the villages are gradually going to be forced to close their doors, the town church to a less extent; assuming the factors that have conditioned the decadence process remain relatively constant.

The competitive demands upon rural dwellers for the support of services and institutions regulated by the local, county, state, and federal governments, plus the inexorable demands for food, clothing, shelter, and other components in their plane of living, have forced the church into this grossly weak defensive position. The greatest competitive pressure for these governmental and personal necessities occurs on the farm, in the village, and in the small town. Here the struggle for existence is keen, and on the ecological level is becoming more severe with the decline in soil fertility, the rise of tenancy, taxes, and production costs. Our centralized economic system with its dominant metropolitan centers draws the economic surplus from the farms and small towns, thereby intensifying this process, as each urban unit extracts as much wealth as possible from its hinterland through the exchange of commodities and services.

Evidently from the point of view of church survival the largest rural center, the county town, is the most effective urban exploitive unit. In it are centralized the local units of a far-flung network of commercial and pro-

fessional services which integrate ecological and social activities in the county. These units gather revenue from the dwellers in smaller centers and the farmers keep a portion for themselves and pass the rest on to larger centers where a still larger concentration of wealth is found. The farmer and villager are closer to the soil, more dependent on its yield than upon financial manipulation, less well equipped to grapple without industrial-commercial urbanism than, perhaps, any other group except the urban proletariat. He has less surplus wealth to donate to an institution that is almost a *cul-de-sac* in our civilization. The net result is the gradual death of the rural church, especially in communities below a minimum size, possessing a certain amount of functional differentiation and surplus wealth.

CITY AND COUNTRY SERVICES UTILIZED BY FARM FAMILIES

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For about twenty years students of rural life, following the pioneer work of Galpin,¹ have been making considerable progress in the analysis of rural trade centers. More recently interest has shifted to the changes taking place in the service facilities of American villages under the impact of the automobile era which has offered the farm population contact with a larger social and economic world made up of numerous overlapping "service areas" of various sizes. Some interesting inferences concerning the competition between villages and cities may be drawn from such studies as Kolb and Pearson's *Trends in Town-Country Relationships*² in which the makeup of the village institutional constellations has been studied over a period of time and data presented to show what changes have been effected. What seems to be needed in supplement to such studies is a group of data which will describe the comparative degree to which the service facilities offered by alternative (competing) centers of different size are actually utilized by a "representative" group of farm families.

In an attempt both (a) to illustrate a technique for observing the service utilization practices of farm families within overlapping spheres of dominance of centers of varying size and (b) to present one group of data gathered by the application of this technique, a study of a group of farm families living in a southwestern Michi-

¹ See C. J. Galpin, *Rural Life* (Century Company, 1918), for a statement of his method for describing "trade areas."

² *Research Bulletin* 117, September, 1933, Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Wisconsin.

gan community was undertaken. The community is situated in a general farming area, the natural center of which is an agricultural village of twelve hundred inhabitants. Two hundred families were studied. These families were selected at random out of a group of approximately six hundred who lived within five miles of the community center.

The position of the community studied with regard to other centers of dominance is, of course, a significant factor. A submetropolitan city with a population of fifty-five thousand is thirty miles distant, the main line of direct communication being a state highway connecting the two. A large metropolitan city (Chicago) is one hundred ten miles distant by railroad and approximately the same by United States highway. It was determined on the basis of informal preliminary study that at least some persons in the community utilized some service facilities in each of these three centers. It was not known, of course, how many people went to centers other than the local one or what proportion of the total amount of their goods and services was purchased in these larger centers.

Although the study originally attempted to compare the relative degree to which the facilities of (a) the local center, (b) the submetropolitan center, and (c) the metropolitan center were utilized, it was soon found necessary to add a fourth category, namely, other nearby local centers at which it was found some persons purchased goods and services even though some of these villages were quite distant. The following services were selected for study:

- (a) retail trade
- (b) miscellaneous services (banking, legal counsel, medical care)
- (c) social organizations (lodges, churches, etc.)
- (d) produce marketing

A responsible adult member (usually the housewife) of each of the two hundred families living within a radius of five miles of the local village was interviewed. Retail trade (classified into subtypes) was measured in dollars expended within the last month at each of the four centers and was then reduced to percentages of the total expenditure before being entered on the schedule. Services were measured by dollar volume and reduced to percentages in a similar manner. Utilization of social organizations, such as churches, lodges, and theaters, was measured by number of attendances within the month and reduced to the percentage of the total. Produce marketing was measured in dollar volume and percentages compiled the same as for retail trade.

The data gathered in the two hundred interviews were assembled showing the following composite results.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE EXPENDITURES OF TWO HUNDRED FARM FAMILIES FOR SELECTED COMMODITIES AS AMONG LOCAL, NEARBY, SUBMETROPOLITAN, AND METROPOLITAN CENTERS, 1936

<i>Commodity</i>	<i>Local center</i>	<i>Nearby center</i>	<i>Submetropolitan center</i>	<i>Metropolitan center</i>	<i>Total</i>
Food	69.3	19.7	5.9	5.1	100.0
Clothing	34.1	3.2	37.5	25.2	100.0
Furniture	30.9	6.1	39.4	23.6	100.0
Auto					
Accessories ..	41.6	3.4	20.9	4.1	100.0

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE EXPENDITURES OF TWO HUNDRED FARM FAMILIES FOR SELECTED SERVICES AS AMONG LOCAL, NEARBY, SUBMETROPOLITAN, AND METROPOLITAN CENTERS, 1936

<i>Service</i>	<i>Local center</i>	<i>Nearby center</i>	<i>Submetropolitan center</i>	<i>Metropolitan center</i>	<i>Total</i>
Medical*	72.6	7.3	20.1	0.0	100.0
Legal	36.4	47.7	15.9	0.0	100.0
Banking	97.1	2.9	0.0	0.0	100.0

* Hospitalization excluded because there are no hospital facilities available in the local village.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE ATTENDANCE OF TWO HUNDRED
FARM FAMILIES AT SELECTED SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS AS
AMONG LOCAL, NEARBY, SUBMETROPOLITAN, AND
METROPOLITAN CENTERS, 1936

<i>Organization</i>	<i>Local center</i>	<i>Nearby center</i>	<i>Submetropolitan center</i>	<i>Metropolitan center</i>	<i>Total</i>
Church	93.1	7.8	0.0	0.0	100.0
Fraternal	86.7	13.3	0.0	0.0	100.0
Club	14.1	3.7	0.0	0.0	**
Theater	56.7	18.1	18.8	6.4	100.0

** The total for club attendance is not one hundred per cent because some clubs do not center in any village, but meet at farmers' homes instead.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE SALE OF SELECTED PRODUCE BY
TWO HUNDRED FARM FAMILIES AS AMONG LOCAL, NEARBY,
SUBMETROPOLITAN, AND METROPOLITAN CENTERS, 1936

<i>Produce</i>	<i>Local center</i>	<i>Nearby center</i>	<i>Submetropolitan center</i>	<i>Metropolitan center</i>	<i>Total</i>
Dairy	84.3	2.3	4.6	8.7	100.0
Fruit	30.8	12.7	27.3	39.2	100.0
Grain	57.4	8.3	8.1	26.2	100.0

The following tentative conclusions³ appear to be warranted by the above data:

³ No definite proof, of course, can be offered to establish the applicability of the above conclusions to other rural communities. It would appear, however, that any claims for the typicality of such phenomena as the above would be highly precarious since allowance would have to be made for the operation of such differential factors as the size of the local trade center, the quality and quantity of the services available there, the distance (in terms of both time and cost) of larger centers, the peculiar social traditions of the farm group in question, and perhaps other factors as well. Also, it should be noted that the families studied were deliberately selected so that they would be within the service area of the local village, and it would appear doubtful, therefore, that similar conditions would prevail among families living on the periphery of the service area of even the same agricultural village.

These data, likewise, lead to no generalizations regarding the trend of village-farm service relations or of the more vital sociopsychological significance of the changing orientation of farmers. They are presented merely as approximate quantitative measures of certain habits of this group of farmers with respect to their utilization of the service facilities of centers of various sizes. It is anticipated that further research and much criticism will be needed in order to establish more definitely (a) the reliability of the above technique for actually measuring what it purports to measure, (b) the typicality of the above data and conclusions, and (c) the more subtle significance of these data, if they are found to have general applicability, to the larger rural problem of the changing status of agricultural villages as service centers for farm folk.

1. These two hundred farm families, although they live within the "trade area" of a particular village, are functionally related to each of *several* centers of dominance for the satisfaction of their various wants. None of these centers is dominant in supplying the farmers' needs.
2. The orientation to large centers is the most pronounced in the case of the retail trade. The local village center supplies only from thirty to seventy per cent (depending on the type of goods) of all the retail merchandise bought by the residents of this farming community.
3. These families—or at least some members of them—make actual contact with the larger centers in the course of having their wants satisfied. Over half of the families visit a submetropolitan center at least once per month and nearly one third visit these centers once per week or more.
4. In some service categories, however, the local village exerts almost complete dominance, notably in the case of banking and medical care.
5. The village also remains almost completely dominant in the supplying of religious, fraternal, and other strictly social facilities to these farm families.
6. The produce marketing facilities of the local village are utilized in varying degree among various farmers and among various types of produce.

BASIC CONCEPTS IN GROUP WORK*

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The basic concepts in group work have originated largely in the social sciences and in the practice of group work. They are numerous and interrelated. Ten of the more important ones have been selected for this exhibit.

In the first place, social science has given the concept, *group*, to group work. Group work always takes place within the framework of what the late Charles H. Cooley defined as the primary group. It is the primary group in which human beings develop their primary or basic ideals of life and character in natural, unconscious ways, and without outside direction or dominance. It is in the normal give-and-take of primary group activities that leadership and followership emerge and that personality development occurs. The group worker functions best when he promotes most the group as its own self-directing force. The greater the variety of stimulating experiences that an individual can be offered in a group, the greater the personality development of each member. The greater the variety of stimulating groups that the group worker can offer youth in underprivileged communities, the greater the personality growth and enrichment.

In the second place, the concept, *group process*, has had its origin in social science, chiefly in social psychology. According to this process the members of a group are continually stimulating one another as persons and as a group to do new things, to think new ideas, and

* This article is an adaptation of a paper presented at Seattle, June 30, 1938, before members of the National Association for the Study of Group Work. It is fundamental to the author's articles on "Ten Standards for Group Work," *Sociology and Social Research*, 21:175-83, and "Ten Group Work Problems," *Sociology and Social Research*, 22:273-80.

continually to throw off enlightening and enlivening sparks. The group process is a flowing together of streams of human experiences that generate new social strength. It is an integrating of various individual experiences that emerge in broader human insight. It is a shifting from a boresome self-centeredness to a broadening group consciousness. It moves individuals out of the ennui of their own lives into the enthusiasm of group identification. When functioning freely the group process develops personalities, fosters leadership and followership, promotes new group activities, and generates creative moments.¹

The group process always functions within culture pattern limits; it functions within language and communication limits; it functions within social nearness limits.

In the third place, the concept, *group work process*, has two thirds of its beginnings in social science. At least the concepts of group and process so originated. The group work process is normally abnormal, for it involves leadership from the outside in addition to leadership from within the group. It has its own leadership-followership nature and then, in addition, a leadership that is composed of individuals whose traits are external in one or more ways to the given group. Moreover, the group work process is doubly abnormal. Not only does it have an additional outside leadership besides its own, but its own leadership is functioning inadequately or below its possibilities. The outside leadership offered by the group worker is supposed to supply what is missing in the inside leadership. The group work process is the group process in which the natural leadership is supplemented by an artificial leadership. A vital part of its function is to arouse or to guide the natural or potential leadership to function in new and constructive directions.

¹ The group process is a phase of the larger social process that sociologists have been analyzing. It is the social process in miniature, and hence is an excellent laboratory for the study of the greater process. The group process may function either arbitrarily or democratically. In the latter sense it is the democratic process in localized operation.

The group work process is in part a group thinking process. Out of the sharing of ideas and out of full and free discussion based on careful studies, not on mere opinions, the group thinking process attains supreme human importance.²

In the fourth place, the concept of *personality development* has been illuminated for the group worker by social science. Personality, as described by social science, is an expression of basic drives or wishes, of the organization of attitudes and values, and of the receipt of and response to recognition. Personality development is a dynamic process that finds expression only in and through social and group life. It is a process in which culture patterns afford standardization to personal behavior. It is a process in which social stimuli, originating extensively in groups, arouse creativeness and originality in the individual. It is a process which normally functions through free participation in group activities by all the members. It is a process which operates most effectively through informal, not formal, education.

Personality development arises out of personal experiences. The group worker promotes personality development best when he encourages individual members most to assume responsibility and to make choices. He does best when he helps individuals most to free themselves from inhibitions, inferiority complexes, and superiority feelings. He does best when he assists individuals most to define their own standards, to make choices in line with standards that they have themselves formulated, and to give both standards and choices a constructive social reference. He does best when through psychiatric skills he enables individuals most to escape from fixations and frustrations. He does best when he directs group conditions most in a way that individuals may experience

² The conditions for the effective group thinking, which were described ten years ago by Harrison S. Elliott in his pioneer work entitled *The Process of Group Thinking*, are still valid and inviting further application.

flashes of insight regarding and sympathetic understanding of social problems. He does best when, as implied by S. R. Slavson in his *Creative Group Education*, he helps boys and girls to discover their own true interests, that is, interests which are wholly worthy of all their hidden personal resources.

Personality adjustment as distinguished from personality development is a fifth group work concept with social science backgrounds. As personalities develop in and through group life, they come into conflict with one another. Personal interests overlap and personalities clash. Adjustments are imperative. Violence is impending.

The question may be raised: What does a person do when he adjusts? In Wilbur I. Newstetter's book on *Group Adjustment, a Study in Experimental Sociology*, the author sees adjustment in terms of mutual acceptance. If an individual is not accepted in a group, his adjustment problems are for the time being insuperable. If he is fully accepted, his adjustment difficulties are insignificant. Since each individual always has a different status in each group in which he is a member, his adjustment problems vary from group to group according to the degree of his acceptance or status in each of his groups. His acceptance varies according to the relation of the group's values to his personality values. Doctor Newstetter has approached this problem by measuring the degrees of cordiality that function between a group and each of its members. The index of cordiality accorded a member by a group is also considered to be an index of the individual's status in that group. Moreover, this index of cordiality and of status is also virtually an index of the ease of personality adjustment in each group.

Personality unadjustment sometimes finds its solution in group therapy. A person who is unadjusted is sometimes evidence of the failure of some group or other to

understand him. Oftentimes the best way to assist him to achieve a needed reorganization of personality is to give him those stimuli which an appropriate group may offer him. Through participation in a suitable social group many a misfit child has become socially fit. He may find a needed status, a new sense of individual importance, and a new zest in living. Of course, the group has to be one which is suited to the misfit individual, and the group worker must understand both his groups and the behavior problems of the youth who are under his guidance. Since the need for case work may often be traced to the failure of a social group, the case worker's best prescription for a client sometimes may be found in group activities. In this sense group work is basic to case work.

Sixth, group work is indebted to social science for knowledge concerning the nature of *leadership*. Always functioning in connection with followership, leadership finds expression in social groups without any outside aid or stimulation. Originating in energy, in a stepping forth, in dominance, leadership may reach the heights of democratically refined guidance.

Since every group naturally develops its own leaders, what is the function of the group work leader? Is he merely an extra leader who imposes himself upon a group that has its own leadership within? Does he play an abnormal role as a part of a dual leadership process? When is he needed?

The group work leader is needed when a group's own leadership fails to materialize or expresses itself harmfully with reference to the group. He is needed when he can stimulate and guide a group to new levels of achievement. He is needed when he can organize new groups in areas of social life where they are lacking. He is eyes to a group's blind leaders, and ideas to a group's stupid

leaders. He is a guide to a group's misguided leaders, and an awakener to a group's sleeping leaders.

A major difference between a professional and a volunteer group work leader is usually found in the degree of scientific social work training. The lesser his degree of training, the more likely is the group process to be ignored by the volunteer leader, and the more likely are questionable methods to be practiced. The group work agency has a special responsibility to train its volunteer leaders not only so that they may function well within the agency's clubs and groups, but so that they may carry back to all phases of social life in which they participate the newest ideas regarding the group and democratic processes.

The professional group work leader continually faces the danger of becoming institutionalized; that is, he is subject to the temptation to work for his agency or to make a showing for his clubs or groups rather than first to develop the members of his clubs. He is tempted to pile up statistics for purposes of impressing board members and the public. In fact, he may be overcome by the data that show that the attendance at the clubs under his direction was 2,678 last month.

Whether professional or volunteer, the group work leader needs to go repeatedly to social psychology for its latest knowledge concerning the group process. He needs to go to social research for its latest methods of gathering and analyzing data. He needs to go to his clubs and groups and carry on experiments concerning the efficiency of the group work processes that he has set in motion. Moreover, he needs to go to his own brain and contribute to social research methods and to the social sciences through his own creative relationships with groups.³

³ Any leader plays a role of symbolic synthesis, as indicated by two ideas suggested by Grace L. Coyle in her *Social Process in Organized Groups*. He synthesizes the interests of several individuals in the service of a new and larger group program. At the same time he symbolizes in his personality this integrated group activity in a way that energizes anew all the group members.

Leadership within the group and among the members may be viewed as a conjuncture of at least three major items, as described by a sociologist, Clarence Marsh Case. It is the occurring at the same time and place, first, of a particular kind of ability that is ready to express itself. Second, there must be a recognized need involving the interests and perhaps the welfare of a number of persons. If the ability does not fit the need, no leadership worthy of the name will develop. Both a particular need and an appropriate ability must come together before group work can arise. The third essential is opportunity, that is, the person with the specific ability to meet a particular recognized need must be given an opportunity to direct his ability freely upon the need. The social group worker, therefore, is continually on the outlook to bring these three elements together in every club meeting as often as he can. The results will be striking in terms of creative leadership.

A seventh concept of value to group workers is the *life history*. It comes out of the social research work of W. I. Thomas and represents the individual's own account of his longings, unsatisfied and satisfied, from his earliest years to the present. Most important of all, it reveals the individual's reactions to his own important experiences. It explains the adjustments to life conditions that he has made. It makes snapshots of his unsatisfied desires. It depicts his failures to adjust. It portrays his conflicts and the resultant complexes. It discloses the inner workings of his personality.

The "life history" gives the group worker a candid camera as a tool for photographing each member of his clubs not when each is posing but in his natural roles. The "life history" is a cine-kodak that gives a motion picture of the changing stages in each person's development. Unlike the biography which is often eulogistic and

unlike the autobiography which is often egoistic, the life history is revelationistic concerning the nature of human behavior. It discloses the innermost meanings of human experiences, it delineates motives, it sketches the subtle springs or drives of behavior.

In the eighth place, anthropology offers group work a useful tool in the *culture concept*. Every social group is characterized by a deep-seated framework composed of standard and distinctive culture patterns. A boy may have a high status in one club and at the same time a low one in another because the two groups differ in culture framework. Thus, the ease with which the boy makes his adjustments in one group and the difficulty which he experiences in the other may be more explainable in terms of the differences in the culture patterns that mold social life in the two groups than in inherited personality differences.

A common culture gives a medium of discourse, while differences in culture give the conditions for discord. A common culture is a group language, while multicultures are a confusion of tongues, giving rise to misunderstandings, mutual suspicions, and malignant propaganda. The group worker needs to be expert in recognizing and reducing these personality clashes which are due to differences in racial cultures of group members. Since any group member is a product in part of culture influences thousands of years old, the group worker not versed in a knowledge of culture traits and patterns is likely to be helpless in the face of the problems of groups whose members experience culture conflicts. To the extent that race antagonisms, religious antagonisms, political antagonisms, economic antagonisms, parent-child antagonisms, community-child antagonisms are conditioned by culture differences, the group worker can move strategically only as he has mastered the nature of culture factors, such as

culture dominance, culture lag, culture change, and the inseparable connection between culture patterns and personality attitudes.

A ninth contribution of social science to group work centers in the concept of *community organization*, a term with both administrative and sociological meanings. But basic to community organization is the community, which gives the objective setting within which all group work takes place. No group worker can hope to go deeply into his day's work until he knows the communities in which his boys and girls live and have lived. From the community come a boy's companions, namely, his peers to whom he listens more attentively than to his elders. In his community are resources, or the lack of them, which afford him constructive activities or deny him needed stimuli. In the community are forces that make the group worker's efforts valid or that destroy their effects altogether. Underprivileged youth are partly the products of underprivileged communities. Moreover, the underprivileged community may be one in which youth are underprivileged in their group life. In interstitial areas, as shown by F. M. Thrasher, youth suffer a dearth of both normal groups and adequate community organizations. Group work is needed most where community organization is weakest; the values of group work programs are destroyed quickest where they are supported least by community organization. Group work is next most needed where community organization is strongest; for its victims are either too stereotyped and too submissive, or too rebellious and revolutionary.

One more concept, the tenth, will be introduced here as being of social science origin, namely, *group work interpretation*. The usual meaning ascribed to this term is publicity. Group work interpretation is sometimes conceived as ways of explaining to the public the nature and

achievements of group work. The aim is to secure public understanding and support.

Group work interpretation may be widened to include answers to the question: Why do group work agencies exist? as well as answers to the problem: What do group work agencies do? The "why" inquiry calls for a deeper analysis of group work than does the "what" question.

Beneath both these questions is a third which really penetrates to the heart of group work interpretation, namely, what does group work mean to those who participate in it? In other words, what does it do to those who participate or what are its effects in terms of personality upon its participants? How may its effects be measured? How may the group work process be evaluated? What are the variations in effects upon each of the seven sets of participants in group work, namely, (a) of what value is it to the club or group members, both leaders and followers? (b) of what value to group work leaders, both volunteer and paid? (c) of what value to supervisors? (d) of what value to executives and administrators? (e) of what value to the group work agency as a unit, as distinguished from its parts? (f) of what value to parents of club members? and (g) of what value to community agencies and the community as a whole? In short, group work interpretation means basically, how can the results of group work be measured? Then and then only can group workers intelligently engage in group work publicity.

Group work interpretation as thus defined cannot succeed except in terms of group work analysis. Group work interpretation lays the only sound basis for group work planning. Group work interpretation invokes group work research. It is measurement of changes in attitudes and values brought about by group work. It is measurement of personality reorganization and enrichment due to

group work. It is measurement of all the effects of the group work process.

The foregoing concepts have been selected from many that social science and group work practice have evolved. They constitute ten planks upon which all group workers may stand and work together. They comprise ten principles which enable group workers to go about their daily opportunities with confidence in themselves, with confidence in their methods, with confidence in the integrity of group members, and with confidence in the totality of that larger human community of interests in which we live, move, and earn our salt.

Foreign Sociological Notes

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Latin America: The Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America held its thirteenth annual Seminar during the last two weeks of July in Mexico City, Cuernavaco, and Pueblo. Two American sociologists were included in the teaching staff: Dr. Herbert A. Miller of Bryn Mawr, and Dr. Ben Cherrington of the Causey Foundation for the Advancement of the Social Sciences, of the University of Denver.

Professor Cherrington has recently been appointed by Secretary of State Hull to have charge of the newly created Division of Cultural Relations with the Latin-American Republics, of the federal Department of State. The responsibilities involve "the exchange of professors, teachers, and students—[and in general] the dissemination abroad of the intellectual and cultural work of the United States, including exhibits for the Pan American Conference in Lima, Peru, in December, 1938."

Denmark: The Second International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences was held at the University of Copenhagen, July 31 to August 6.

Hawaii: The University of Chicago Press has recently published *An Island Community: Ecological Succession in Hawaii*, by Dr. Andrew W. Lind, head of the department of sociology in Hawaii, with an introduction by Robert E. Park, University of Chicago. Since Hawaii is a part of the United States, it does not properly belong under Foreign Notes, but is mentioned here because of its interracial and international character. In addition to the native and native-mixed population, the Islands contain large numbers of Americans, Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos, besides various European groups, especially Portuguese.

Jewish Matters: The wave of anti-Semitism which has been so prominent in European date lines since the beginning of the Nazi regime has brought with it a flood of discussion, much of which is sociological in character. Among recent treatments the following are of especial interest to sociologists:

Hilaire Belloc, *The Jews* (Houghton-Mifflin, 1938, pp. 308. Third Edition, revised).

S. W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews* (Columbia University Press, 1937, 3 Volumes).

Rabbi Lee J. Levinger, *Anti-Semitism Yesterday and Tomorrow* (Macmillan, 1936, pp. 334).

Japan: An important recent addition to the understanding of the development of sociology in Japan is by Dr. Junichero Matsumoto of Hosei University, *Japanese Sociology* (Tokyo: Jicho Company, 1938, pp. 162). Dr. Matsumoto has also published during the year, *Principles of Cultural Sociology* (Tokyo: Kaishikawa, 1938). Both of these, unfortunately for American readers, are in Japanese.

England: Dr. Ronald Davison, of the London School of Economics, served as professorial lecturer in the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago, spring quarter, 1938.

Dr. Richard Henry Tawney (*An Acquisitive Society*) of the same institution will also appear at the University of Chicago as visiting professor of Economic History in the spring quarter, 1939.

Roumania: The Royal Academy of Science has recently elected to honorary membership Dr. Pitirim Sorokin of Harvard University.

European Translations: Professor Sorókin's *Contemporary Sociological Theories* appeared in May in a French translation by Dr. René Verrier (Paris: Payot). This is the seventh language into which this volume has been translated. His *Social and Cultural Dynamics* is now in process of translation into German and Czech.

Poland: Two major losses to sociological ranks have recently been sustained in the death of Stefan Czarnowski and Wladyslaw Grabski.

Professor Grabski, one time Premier of Poland, was a member of the faculty of the College of Agriculture (Warsaw), and Director of the Institute of Rural Sociology. To him, perhaps more than to anyone else, is due the growth of sociology in relation to rural life in that country. He was the author of *A System of Rural Sociology*.

Professor Charnowski has for many years been on the faculty of the University of Warsaw. His best known work, translated into French under the title *Le Culte des Héros*, involves the mythology of ancient Ireland in a fashion somewhat akin to that of Fraser's *Golden Bough*. A visit in his home in Warsaw in 1934 is one of the writer's pleasant memories of Poland.

Races and Cultures

JAPAN IN TRANSITION. By EMIL LEDERER and EMY LEDERER-SEIDLER. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938, pp. xi+260.

With a philosophical spirit, the authors discuss Japan in terms of religion, culture, conventional form, the state, and foreign policy. A treatise of this kind is so superior to the propaganda documents from Japan that no comparison can be made. While the latter are distinctly harmful to Japan's reputation this book contributes beneficially to an understanding of Japan's life and character. Perhaps the best way to proceed is to quote a few short sentences in order to present the authors' style and their viewpoint and insight.

"The Zenists attempt "to eradicate all spontaneous impulses."

"Even the landscape is holy."

"The West has completely lost this sense of a close connection between nation, state, and religion."

"The Japanese conducts his most important affairs through an intermediary. Without being discourteous the intermediary can remain inflexible within the bounds of his commission."

"It is scarcely conceivable that she [Japan] can succeed in her efforts toward the domination of the entire East."

"It may well be that the only possible solution for this nation is to transform itself into a new Japan that will have nothing in common with the old except a name."

B.H.K.

-WATCH CZECHO-SLOVAKIA. By RICHARD FREUND. London and New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1937, pp. 112.

It is remarkable how many facts the author has packed between the covers of this book. It is also noteworthy that the author has presented the facts fairly to all parties concerned. Moreover, he has clearly set forth the relation of Czechoslovakia to all her neighboring nations and to the disturbed and conflicting political and economic forces of Europe. At best, Czechoslovakia is in a precarious situation, almost a pawn, in the hands of titanic elements. Alone, she is almost helpless. With others, she is safe as far as Europe is safe if a general European war comes.

Diplomacy still has a chance; democracy may not go into the discard; peace may be maintained; but at present only as long as the opposing European nationalisms are stalemated. Masaryk, Benes, Hodza, and Henlein are all powerful names within the Republic, which might better have kept the name of Bohemia than have adopted one which leaves the largest single minority, three and one-half million Germans, definitely outside the political nomenclature.

E.S.B.

THE HISTORY OF THE CROSSBOW ILLUSTRATED FROM SPECIMENS IN THE UNITED STATES NATIONAL MUSEUM. By C. MARTIN WILBUR, Curator of Sinology, Field Museum of Natural History. Publication 3,438, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (From the Smithsonian Report for 1936, pp. 427-38.)

According to the evidence, the crossbow is a development from the self-acting bow-trap, the latter being in use in three continents. China has the earliest positive information. There it has been in use for two thousand years. The crossbow is a product of culture and therefore it is possible that it appeared in more than one place at once. However, "The true home of the crossbow is the great land mass embracing the continents of Europe and Asia."

A.S.B.

THE APACHE INDIANS. By FRANK C. LOCKWOOD. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938, pp. xviii+348.

From early Spanish and Mexican times to the final episode of Geronimo's leadership is the epic sweep of this story of the Apache nation. In order that the reader may better understand the Apache, his attitudes, customs, and tribal organization are well described. The conflicts between the United States government and its wards, the Apaches, the uprisings of the latter, and the leading personalities on either side of the struggle comprise the larger portion of the book. The story of the Apache is one of the most thrilling concerning American nations or tribes, and the author has caught the spirit of these people so that the effect is sympathetic yet unbiased. The book should prove valuable for those who want the political history, as well as ethnological and sociological data, of the Apache. The illustrations are worth special mention.

J.E.N.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO NEGRO EDUCATION. The Yearbook Number, *The Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. VII, No. 3, July, 1938, pp. 474.

The central theme of this Yearbook is devoted to a critical study of the past, present, and some of the future relations of the federal government to the support and control of separate Negro schools in the United States. The first part of this number is concerned mainly with the evolution of the present relationship of the federal government to Negro education. In the second section a vigorous effort has been made to study and compare Negro versus white participation in the benefits of federal funds when allocated to the same communities for educational purposes. A number of possible modifications of the relations between the federal government and the Negro educational system are discussed in the third phase of this study. Doctor A. J. Klein, of Ohio State University, has written a critical summary which serves as a conclusion to the entire study. One of the most pertinent and significant conclusions of this volume is that in the long run a system of dual education, one for Negroes and one for whites, is inconsistent with democratic ideals and principles.

E.C.McD.

HISTORY OF COLOMBIA. By JESUS MARIA HANAO and GERARDO ARRUBLA. Translated and edited by J. FRED RIPPY. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1938, pp. xii+578.

The translator of this important volume in "The Inter-American Historical Series" felt it necessary to omit the chapters on the discovery of and the native races of Bolivia, from the translation. This action is unfortunate, because after all a study particularly of the people, their composition, and their traits is essential to an understanding of the political history of a country. More materials dealing with the family life, the mores of the people, the agricultural and industrial problems, the racial conflicts, and the assimilation of the Indian natives would contribute greatly to an understanding of the history of Bolivia.

The volume is scholarly; it gives detailed facts; it shows the increasing struggle for freedom; it presents a panorama of wars and rumors of wars; and it gives new sidelights on the life and character of Simon Bolivar, the liberator, whose early death at the age of 47 came when perhaps he was just about to make his greatest contributions to the South American republics. The account is one of conservatism versus extremism, and of autocratic measures versus desires for liberty.

The book is an excellent testimony to the scholarship to be found in Bolivia; and the translation will serve as a valuable guide to English-speaking students who wish to learn about the national history of an interesting Latin-American republic.

C.F.

MY INDIA, Recollections of Fifty Years. By LILLIAN LUKER ASHBY and ROGER WHATELY. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1937, pp. xiv+387.

It is a vivid picture of certain sections of India and of particular phases of Indian life which is painted by Mrs. Ashby. After all, fifty years of experience include an extended view of religious and other customs in India. Her husband's work as an official of the honest, conscientious type carried him into a variety of communities and gave his wife interesting viewpoints regarding servant and caste. Many are the exciting incidents which Mrs. Ashby relates and dark are the resulting conclusions at which one arrives concerning the enslaving and blighting influence of many Indian customs, particularly of those of a religious nature. Gandhi is praised but is viewed as undertaking an impossible task. The weaknesses in Indian nature and the ironclad rule of Indian superstition are presented in the description of happenings that cannot easily be erased from one's memory. Sympathetic and kindly, yet incomplete, is this story of India. It does not give an account, for instance, of India's aspirations or of the struggles of India's leaders to attain independence. It does not tell of the seamy side of British rule. In a complete and composite description of India this autobiography, however, offers real, genuine, and vital portrayals that are told simply but with an artist's touch.

E.S.B.

PANORAMA: A RECORD OF INTER-AMERICAN CULTURAL EVENTS. Division of Intellectual Co-operation, Pan American Union, Washington, 1938, pp. 20.

The pamphlet is published for the purpose of recording cultural events in Latin America. The current issue contains several articles of an educational nature such as, "Two Generations of Cuban Poets," "Uruguayan Copyright Law," "Academy of History of Argentina," "Music of the Americas," as well as other items of interest and importance. The publication should be of particular value to those teachers of subjects pertaining to Latin America. It should also foster international understanding and appreciation.

D.M.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA, A CENTER OF CULTURE. By EMORY S. BOGARDUS. Los Angeles: The University of Southern California Press, 1938, pp. 84.

In this splendid brochure Professor Bogardus describes over fifty of the outstanding and significant cultural resources of southern California. The author's style and thought are concise and human which result in a very thorough and much needed descriptive guidebook of the archaeological, anthropological, and scientific interests of this region. Teachers and residents who are interested in planning field trips to the many cultural spots will find this book an invaluable aid. To easterners and others contemplating a trip to southern California, the book affords the best preview available of the many worth-while things in store for them. Besides containing a number of beautiful photographs in half-tones, two graphic maps are included in the booklet which show the location and routes to these centers of culture. As one concludes the reading of this publication he can hardly escape the realization that southern California should be recognized more for its unique cultural opportunities than for its climate.

E.C.McD.

CHINA FIGHTS FOR HER LIFE. By H. R. EKINS and THEON WRIGHT. New York: Whittlesey House, 1938, pp. xix+335.

It is a well-written account of Sino-Japanese relations in the past few years that the two journalist authors of this book have produced. The intricate tale is well told. On doubtful points caution is used. Fair play and objectivity prevail. Current history is written with a vivid hand and Chiang Kai-shek is given the center of the stage. He is portrayed as a man whose personal traits have undergone change. In his earlier maturity he was irritable, opinionated, wrathful, cruel; in later years he has undergone "a curious, inward mellowing." He still is a man of mystery, moving according to Chinese patterns of thought. His career is unique, not running true to leadership patterns among Westerners. His strength lies in the way that he has come to symbolize Chinese unity today. Unintentionally, second place in current Chinese life is given to Madame Chiang Kai-shek. She seems to have been the chief mellowing influence in her husband's life. More than that she has shown real leadership ability in several directions. Also important is the fact that she sets the pace for the women of China, personifying the New Woman of China. Japan's role in the total picture is depicted largely in terms of unwarranted aggression. It is too soon to prophesy the outcome of the titanic conflict.

E.S.B.

THE ESKIMO ARCHEOLOGY OF GREENLAND. By DR. THERKEL MATHIASSEN, National Museum, Copenhagen. Publication 3,436, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (From the Smithsonian Report for 1936, pp. 397-404.)

The frozen ground of Greenland makes archeological activities slow and difficult, yet this same barrier has been a preserver of the cultural deposits of its disappearing civilization. The mounds of its cities released from the frozen ground not only reveal the advancement but also give evidence of the conflicts with the Norsemen. Evidence has been found of once thriving villages with surprisingly large populations. Soon, because of modern civilization, the only evidence of the old Eskimo culture will be in the mounds and the museums. The article is interesting and enlightening and based on scientific source material.

A.S.B.

EASTER ISLAND, POLYNESIA. By HENRI LAVACHERY, Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels. Publication 3,435, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (From the Smithsonian Report for 1936, pp. 391-96.)

Lavachery here gives evidence that Easter Island has been the subject of "fantastic speculation" and that the attempted explanation of the Island's mysteries has not been "the work of men trained in science." He further concludes that the secret of the mysteries lies in the influences upon the islanders in their contact with Europeans and Christianity.

A.S.B.

BULLETIN OF FAR EASTERN BIBLIOGRAPHY. Edited by EARL PRITCHARD, published by the Committees on Far Eastern Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies. Vol. III: No. 1, February, 1938, pp. 1-61; No. 2, April, 1938, pp. 62-100; No. 3, June, 1938, pp. 101-21.

Students who are interested in research on the Sino-Japanese conflict will find these three bibliographies an invaluable aid. The principal headings under which books and articles have been classified were the following: (1) The Far East, (2) China, (3) Tibet, Central Asia, Mongolia and Siberia, (4) Manchuria and Korea, (5) Japan and Taiwan to 1920, (6) Japan and Pacific colonies since 1920, (7) Indo-China, Siam and Malay Peninsula, and (8) East Indies, Philippines, and Pacific islands.

E.C.McD.

Social Welfare

AMERICAN REGIONALISM. By HOWARD W. ODUM and HARRY ESTILL MOORE. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1938, pp. x+693.

The authors of this very commendable treatise on American regionalism have turned out a book which is a genuine contribution to the study of modern culture. It is a study, too, which for the future may have immense salutary influences, for the materials which have been presented may offer at least the foundation stones for future national planning on a grand scale. After reading the book, no one can remain ignorant about the United States and its people and their several ways of thinking and doing.

The new science of the region, "a science descriptive of how all societies grow," furnishes the basis for the point of view established. According to the authors, the implications of regionalism are many, but among the most important the following are indicated: (1) interpretation of the living society of the historical nation and its quest for political, cultural, and spiritual autonomy; (2) the enlargement of the meaning of the local group in relation to the whole, featuring the folk-regional society as basic to the growth of cultures; and (3) furnishing the inventory and planning of modern society, upon which it "emerges as an equally definitive economy of balance and equilibrium between conflicting forces."

The book is presented in three major divisions, namely, (1) the rise and incidence of American regionalism, (2) the historical and theoretical aspects of regionalism, and (3) the regional development of a changing nation. The authors' assumption that "the real theme of American regionalism is essentially that of a great nation in whose continuity and unity of development, through a fine balance of historical, cultural, and geographic factors, must be found the hope of American democracy" is well conceived. And they have, with clarity and insight, disclosed the many difficulties which confront the United States today and which demand solution if democracy is to survive. It is hoped that the techniques indicated by the study for further research will be productive for real future progress and accurate social planning and engineering.

M.J.V.

TENURE, TRAINING, AND COMPENSATION OF DETROIT SOCIAL WORKERS. By CECILE M. WHALEN. Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., 1938, pp. 68.

The object of the study was to obtain accurate and specific information pertaining to the training, experience, responsibilities, and salaries of social workers in Detroit. Many charts and tables are used to present and clarify the findings. The publication is a commendable effort to direct attention to the need for professionally trained persons and to encourage the establishment of graduate schools in the various universities to provide this preparation for social work.

D.M.

SLUMS OF NEW YORK. By HARRY MANUEL SHULMAN. New York: Albert and Charles Boni, Inc., 1938, pp. xvi+304.

This volume deals with the social conditions and cultural patterns of four New York racial slum colonies in Manhattan Borough—Tyler, Fleet, Parnell, and Palm streets—designed to seek a solution for slum eradication through re-education rather than through physical rehabilitation, such as housing reform. The basic material consists mainly of a series of case investigations into 779 families and 1,500 male children, a total of over 4,200 persons, living in four social blocks (people living on the same streets) rather than census blocks. Three schedules were used to secure the information: the first consisting of data descriptive of family conditions, the second consisting of factual data for each boy between the ages of two and twenty-one, and the third designed to analyze the school records of individual boys. The study had the advantage in that it covered a complete phase of the economic cycle. The case studies were gathered during the prosperous period, 1925-1926, and during the depression, 1931-1932. Neither prosperity nor the depression seems to have produced a significant change in the lives of the submerged class of people in the slums.

A slum is regarded not merely as a deteriorated area with a mass of dilapidated houses, but as a "cultural pattern, consisting of a way of living and thinking." The social world of the slum includes the street between two facing rows of houses. A critical evaluation of the impact upon slum life of existing social institutions singles out the public school as the only one possessing the vitality and the resources to overcome the pathological social forces of the area. While schools have made progress in meeting the needs of slum people, a considerable revitalization of the school program is necessary before slums can be reconditioned.

M.H.N.

A HISTORICAL SUMMARY OF STATE SERVICES FOR CHILDREN IN ALABAMA. Children's Bureau, Katharine F. Lenroot, Chief. United States Department of Labor, Bureau Publication No. 239, Part 3, pp. 34.

This pamphlet was issued mainly for students of public welfare administration who wish to understand the development of state welfare programs. A number of different states were studied, and a report for each state is being issued separately. The three most important phases of this study were devoted to (1) the development of state welfare administration, (2) state child welfare department, and (3) state services for children.

E.C.McD.

RESEARCH MONOGRAPHS. Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, 1937.

The first ten monographs of this series were reviewed in the July-August issue of the Journal. The eleventh and twelfth volumes deal with *Rural Youth on Relief* and *Intercity Differences in Costs of Living*. The intensity of relief among rural youth varies by states but the relief load has been steadily rising in nearly all of the states. Proportionately fewer Negro than white youth are on relief in the counties studied, but more young women than young men are in rural relief families. Few of those on relief are in school. The comparative cost of living study was made of 59 separate cities. Quantity budgets were constructed as an itemization of the content of two levels of living: the maintenance and emergency levels. The maintenance cost of living for a four-person manual worker's family is placed at \$1,261, whereas the emergency level is \$903.

M.H.N.

ANNOTATIONS ON SMALL LOAN LAWS. By F. B. HUBACHEK. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1938, pp. lxxv+255.

In the above volume, the latest publication in the Small Loan Series of the Russell Sage Foundation, the author addresses himself to the problems of statutory interpretation and application arising under state laws regulating the small loan business. The numerous judicial decisions are assembled and cited in the form of annotations to the respective

sections of the Sixth Draft of the proposed Uniform Small Loan Law, together with the author's comments on the history and purpose of the statutory provisions.

Although chiefly useful as a handbook for attorneys engaged in small loan litigation, the book definitely serves to focus attention on the needs and social implications of regulation in the field of usury. That these needs are both real and urgent is emphasized by the experience of legal aid societies. These agencies, which for years have been engaged in the sociolegal task of furnishing legal advice and assistance to indigents, frequently encounter the activities of loan sharks and personal property brokers. And in some jurisdictions the experiences and statistical records of such legal aid societies have been instrumental in obtaining the enactment of needed legislation. In the absence of such regulation, the practices of the small loan business have been sometimes appalling in their brazen adroitness. Under the guise of solicitous and apparently genuine concern for the individual's financial needs, and with the aid of glib and alluring radio advertising, it is possible for small loan brokers and finance companies to prey upon the credulity of small wage earners and to extort exorbitant returns under the cloak of "service charges," assignments, and other fictitious devices. Examples of such evasions and subterfuges are included in Mr. Hubachek's analysis of small loan practices.

It is to be hoped that this book will serve in part to aid in securing more effective legislation in those states where it is still needed. The proposed Uniform Small Loan Law represents a conscientious and well-considered attempt to formulate a sound, workable model statute. Its adoption might well be urged in California, where, due to technical conflicts in the enactment of constitutional and statutory provisions, there is now no effective regulation in the small loan field.

S.D.E.

THE SCHOOL BUILDING SITUATION AND NEEDS. By ALICE BARROWS. Bulletin 1937, No. 35, United States Department of the Interior. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1938, pp. 62.

In order to meet the demands of school building experts, a study of the present school building construction as well as school building needs throughout the United States was undertaken by the United States Office of Education and compiled in a bulletin. Certain conclusions interpreted from the survey plus statistical tables by states and regions are included.

J.B.

THE CHOICE BEFORE US. By E. STANLEY JONES. New York: Abingdon Press, 1937, pp. 235.

In clear-cut straightforward language the author, a distinguished missionary to India and the world, a nobleman of the first rank in the finest sense that that term has ever been used, reviews four pathways before the world today, namely, capitalism, Fascism, Naziism, and democracy as expressed in the concept of the "Kingdom of God." The author holds that capitalism is breaking down because of the inequalities and injustices that it fosters and because at its center is the principle of selfish competition. He finds Fascism to be little better than a social order which is a prison where people are prohibited to think except as the overlords decree. Since communism uses force to gain its ends, it will have to use force to maintain its ends. The economic determinism of communism is inadequate, for personality affects the economic as much as it is determined by it. Naziism is intolerable because of its defiance of interracialism and internationalism. Democracy has not been tried, but if motivated by the "Kingdom of God" spirit it will substitute co-operation for competition, and raise the welfare of all while furnishing a spiritual dynamic and spiritual goals for life both personal and social.

It is an earnest, sincere plea that Stanley Jones makes. It is an urgent plea. It is a wholesome prescription for a sick world.

C.F.

PLAY AND MENTAL HEALTH. JOHN EISELE DAVIS. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1938, pp. iv+202.

In an earlier volume on recreational therapy for the mentally ill, the author indicated the principles and practice of dealing with mental difficulties. In this counterpart are presented the principles and practice of maintaining mental health through play. It is intended primarily for teachers, but recreation leaders, physicians, and parents will find much helpful material in dealing with the play life of children in order to avoid personality disorganization and to maintain mental health. The relation of play to psychic adjustment, adjustment to the outer world, and behavior is shown. The final section deals with happy socialization. The approach is from the points of view of psychology, psychiatry, and mental hygiene. Theory and practice are combined and the material is presented in a direct and readable fashion.

M.H.N.

A SYSTEMATIC SOURCE BOOK IN JUVENILE DELINQUENCY. By WALTER A. LUNDEN. Pittsburgh: The University of Pittsburgh, 1938, pp. 390.

The present volume is a revision of the 1936 edition which appeared under the title *Juvenile Delinquency: Manual and Source Book*. Like the earlier volume the present one deals with source data relative to juvenile delinquency as a social problem; the extent and nature of delinquency; the social configuration of delinquents and delinquency; the jurisprudence of juvenile delinquency; institutional treatment and care of juvenile offenders; programs and methods of preventing juvenile delinquency. Although the arrangement and the nature of the data were not materially changed in the revised edition, more sources and a greater variety of data are quoted.

The data in the book are largely of a statistical and legal nature. Because of limited space the materials on each topic are brief. Each chapter is divided into a number of sections, and each section begins with bibliographical references to be consulted by the student; then follow searching questions and suggested topics for discussion. The main body of the book consists of source data.

The book should prove of value to students and instructors who are able to supplement this text with treatises and case materials in several fields of juvenile delinquency. From a pedagogical standpoint the book is valuable because it compels the student to read widely outside his text.

P.V.Y.

MINIMUM COST OF LIVING BUDGET FOR HEALTH AND DECENCY IN PITTSBURGH AND ALLEGHENY COUNTY. Revised edition, 1938. Social Research Monograph No. 4, Committee on Family Budgets, Federation of Social Agencies of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, pp. 45.

The committee presenting this budget recognizes the impossibility of formulating a budget which will be accurate for all families, but maintains that to go below the costs stated in this particular budget would endanger the health and well-being of families. The budget was designed to serve as a guide in the formulation of relief grants and likewise to serve as a standard for measuring such grants; as such it is of considerable practical value. The budget given is a very inclusive and detailed one. The booklet in addition to the budget items contains a valuable discussion of standards used in determining the budget details. Also a useful bibliography is appended.

D.M.

AN ECOLOGICAL STUDY OF OMAHA. By T. EARL SULLENGER. Omaha: Bureau of Social Research, Department of Sociology, Municipal University of Omaha, 1938, pp. 54.

This is a study of Omaha founded on the theory that the most serious of social problems center in the same social groups, and that these groups live in definite geographical areas. Every census district in Omaha was analyzed from a social aspect and reported in this bulletin, together with a summary which attempts to draw a few tentative deductions as to the relationship between social problems and social conditions in certain areas in the city.

J.B.

Social Thought

POLITICAL ARITHMETIC. A Symposium of Population Studies. Edited by LANCELOT HOGBEN. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1938, pp. 531.

The intriguing title of this book is a clue to its contents. The current population problems discussed in the twelve studies were undertaken by the Department of Social Biology in the University of London and offered the work of such well-known authorities as Dr. R. R. Kucynski, Dr. Enid Charles, Professor J. L. Gray, and Mrs. David Glass. The book is divided into two parts, and each part is introduced with an essay by Professor Hogben who most admirably succeeds in sending his readers on to view the contents of other papers. In the first introductory essay, he declares that the humanistic studies have not yet altogether renounced the idolatry of logic, nor what he chooses to call the idolatry of purity. He names these idols of logic and purity following Bacon's classification of prejudices as idols. The idol of purity is condemned on the grounds that certain scientists claim their science to be unrelated to any other science. Thus, he declares that certain economists must know that economics deals with aspects of human behavior and yet their economics has nothing to do with psychology.

Professor Kucynski's paper on the international decline of fertility concludes with this forecast: "No conceivable decrease of mortality or

increase of nuptiality will have a decisive effect upon the future net reproduction in the total territory comprised by Western civilization. The decisive factor will be the trend of matrimonial fertility." Dr. Kucynski's other contribution is entitled "British Demographers' opinions on Fertility" and is both significant and interesting in that the study was undertaken to investigate the opinions of British demographers that during the century preceding the Industrial Revolution there was a gap between the fertility and fecundity of the English people. The findings show that there is scant testimony on the practice of birth control, that certain writers pointed to practices preventing conception, and that "to encourage matrimony and to hinder intemperance and licentiousness seemed to them the best, and practically the only means of promoting fertility." This is a splendidly conceived book on population problems and contains a vast fund of valuable information.

M.J.V.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. By DANIEL KATZ and RICHARD L. SCHANCK. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1938, pp. xiv+700.

The authors of this most recent text in social psychology have chosen a unique but useful method of presenting their materials. Utilizing four different approaches, namely, the descriptive and sociological, the analytical and experimental, the genetic and developmental, and the historical and dialectical, they have succeeded in making their subject matter vital and interesting because, throughout, the individual and his personal problems in relation to group life are constantly kept in the foreground. The book introduces the student of social psychology to his social world of daily experiences and brings him face to face with its cultural aspects and the activity of social processes resulting in the rearing of social institutions and institutional ways of acting. The behavior of the individual, typical and atypical, is well discussed from a practical point and utilitarian point of view. The second portion of the text, analytical and experimental, reviews the social processes and their foundations in physiological and psychological sources. Nothing new is developed here and the discussion follows the customary treatment given by most of the other texts in the field. Part three devoted to the genetic and developmental approach deals with the nature of personality as described by noted authorities in the field. The materials have been very well selected and as presented make for an enlightening account of the study of personality and its conditioning by many factors.

The concluding section of the book is entitled "The World of the Social Engineer" and presents its materials from the point of view of the scientific and technical observer of the social situation in which the person acts. Such phenomena as the community, the public, and social classes are presented with an emphasis upon the nature of social change. The authors have succeeded in making the text always enlightening and never dull.

M.J.V.

PUBLIC OPINION AND THE INDIVIDUAL. By GARDNER MURPHY and RENSIS LIKERT. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1938, pp. viii+316.

The aim in this book is to measure "the psychological bases of individual differences in opinion on public issues." While the obstacles are very great, definite progress is made by the authors. Their method of measuring attitudes makes use of sigma units. It avoids the errors that arise when raters or judges are required in making an attitude scale. Fewer items are necessary than in the usual attitude scales. This method was simplified still further by arbitrarily assigning consecutive numerical values to the different alternatives. It is assumed that attitudes follow a normal frequency curve, which is not yet established.

The studies relate to five "attitude areas," namely, international relations, race relations, economic conflict, political conflict, and religion, but chiefly the first three. It was found that differences in the size of the home community do not affect these attitudes. The occupation of the father and the family income were found to be negligible. Studies of other types of groups are needed at these points. A high correlation exists between college scholarship and radicalism. The personalities of parents and the reading habits of the individual students loom large. Radical or conservative attitudes do not seem to be affected by "the possession of information related to the issues in question." In the study of "attitudes five years later," a considerable shift toward radicalism was discovered.

A unique inquiry consists of analyzing autobiographical materials and of quantifying the data. While the results are not wholly satisfactory, they are valuable enough to justify further research in this field. From a descriptive account of one's social contacts including one's reactions it may yet be possible to measure one's attitudes. All in all this study makes a very stimulating contribution to the measurement of the opinions and attitudes of individuals.

E.S.B.

COLLECTIVE BEHAVIOR. By RICHARD T. LAPIERE. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1938, pp. xiii+577.

In *Collective Behavior* the author offers a book for what he calls a second course in social psychology. It is not clear, however, why this volume could not be used successfully in many first courses. He suggests that social psychology thus far in its short history has dealt to a noticeable extent with the effects of social interaction and proposes now to deal with the nature of social interactions. He does this in terms of several types of collective behavior which he designates as cultural (institutional, conventional, regimental, and formal), recreational (congenial, audience, and public), control (exchange, politic and nomothetic), and escape (panic, revelous, fanatical, and rebellious). This is a meritorious classification, but several questions about it may be raised, for example: Are not the types of collective behavior called cultural also of a control nature even more subtly than those which appear in that category? Is not conventional behavior about as formal as any behavior that is classified under formal? Is the term "public behavior" misleading, when by it is meant not public behavior as distinguished from private behavior but the behavior of publics? In a list that is composed of popular terms why introduce the term, nomothetic?

Collective behavior is tentatively defined as "the interaction which occurs between two or more socialized human beings for the duration of the particular situation in which that interaction occurs." Here the use of the term, socialized human beings, may be questioned. Are people who engage in collective behavior generally "socialized human beings" already or are they in various stages along the road to socialization? However, socialized human beings are defined as "human individuals who have been trained by past experience with other human beings to react in relatively stable ways to any given stimulus." But is it enough to act in stable ways in order to be socialized? If a criminal reacts in stable but destructive ways to life and property of others, would he be socialized? Is it not too strong a statement to say that "whatever else they may be, human beings are never robots." What about mechanized labor in factories in relation to highly speeded up workmen?

A great deal of reading and thought has gone into this book. The treatise is far-reaching and highly significant. It flashes forth here and there with original insights in the nature of collective behavior.

E.S.B.

A HISTORY OF SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY. By CHARLES A. ELLWOOD. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1938, pp. xiv+581.

The appearance of this commendable treatise on social philosophy justifies an apparent need in the field of modern sociology. Based on Professor Ellwood's recognition of the fact that the so-called scientific gathering of data necessitates a call for the highest order of mental interpretation and philosophical syntheses, the book reports brilliantly the contributions of the social philosophers from Plato and Aristotle down to Lester F. Ward. The author finds support for his basic contention principally in the thought of his teacher, Albion W. Small, "who used to say to his classes, 'Sociology, to deserve respect, must become not only a science, but an accredited section of general philosophy,'" in Ward's demand that the psychic factors in society be recognized as the greatest of social forces, in Professor Ross's statement that Ward's *Psychic Factors of Civilization* furnishes "the philosophy that lies at the base of the recent great extension of functions by contemporary governments," and in Professor McDougall's statement that the social scientist shall at least understand "what he is doing, shall recognize the distinction and the difference between the two kinds of inquiry (philosophical consideration and scientific observation) and shall understand the relations between them."

Certain it is that many a student of sociology, becoming imbued with the idea that he must gather facts, measure facts, classify facts, and draw conclusions from facts, has had, in the first place, little or no idea of what a social fact was and, secondly, has become almost paralyzed mentally when attempting to interpret the significance and meaning of the collected data. Without "training in systematic thinking, logical principles, and philosophical methods," to use the words of Professor Sorokin, no student in sociology can hope to achieve any findings that may in the broadest sense be called scientific. Hence, the book becomes in the hands of Professor Ellwood a plea for the sociologist of the future to realize well and fully that without a well-disciplined thinking ability, the sociology of the future will be barren. All social development and progress thus far "has depended upon learning processes in individuals and inter-learning processes among individuals."

The author is to be congratulated on his insistence that human thought has been responsible for the achievements of man, and that failures and successes have been due to man's human thinking. Thoughts are things which motivate men, and thoughts may be either directed or misdirected. The concluding chapter is really an essay, at once inspi-

for its realization. Four requirements of satisfactory group-work education are set forth by the author as follows: (1) to establish satisfying affective (love) relations with children and with adults; (2) to provide ego satisfactions; (3) to give expression to the creative-dynamic drives of the individual; and (4) to engender emotions and to establish attitudes that dispose the individual to social usefulness and group participation." Each of the nineteen chapters of this book contains stimulating hints derived from experience and thought regarding group-work education. These suggestions require further experimentation and while yet unorganized, they point the way to a possible reformation of our educational system as such.

E.S.B.

NEW TRENDS IN GROUP WORK. Edited by JOSHUA LIEBERMAN. New York: Association Press, 1938, pp. xii+229.

This composite piece of work is divided into five sections: (1) Group work and the social scene; (2) Group work as education; (3) Leadership in group work; (4) Relation of group work and case work; and (5) Record keeping in group work. Grace L. Coyle, who writes on education for social action, defines social action as "collective action by a group directed toward some social or, perhaps better, societal end." She contends that the serious study of social questions cannot come much before the age of twenty-one. John Dewey states that the schools may (1) perpetuate the present confusion, (2) be conservative and make "the schools for maintaining the old order intact against the impact of new forces," or (3) become the ally of "the newer scientific, technological and cultural forces that are producing change in the old order." He favors the third plan not in a partisan sense but in terms of "social forces and their movements." Henry M. Busch predicts "an increase of community work in semi-rural areas and an increase in work with older people." W. H. Kilpatrick points out that "we learn to do what we practice with success" and that "we learn not to do what we practice with failure." A group is defined by Arthur L. Swift as "a number of individuals, rarely more than twenty in all, or less than five, united by co-operative effort to satisfy shared interests, and to that end meeting regularly and frequently over an extended period." A function of the executive, according to H. S. Dimock, is to be "primarily concerned about the growth of the persons who participate in committees and boards rather than assume that growth will be an incidental by-product of smoother and more effective functioning."

The foregoing statements are but a few of the significant ideas that may be gleaned from this book. Although the exhibit is uneven in quality and there is a lack of momentum, the total result is a handy reference volume of wide and stimulating usefulness.

E.S.B.

ADULT EDUCATION: A PART OF A TOTAL EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM. Bulletin of the Bureau of School Service, College of Education, University of Kentucky, 1938, pp. 194.

This publication is the initial effort of the Bureau of School Service to prepare a report of an educational program for both children and adults. The educational and training program set up and carried on by the Tennessee Valley Authority is an outstanding achievement and one to which little publicity has been given. This program is not only a valuable phase of the whole T.V.A. organization but is also a most significant contribution to adult education in general. The bulletin gives the reader an accurate description and interpretation of what this program includes, its objectives, and its methods.

D.M.

Industrial Welfare

CO-OPERATIVE ENTERPRISE. By JACOB BAKER. New York: The Vanguard Press, 1938, pp. xv+266.

As a member of President Roosevelt's "Inquiry on Co-operative Enterprise," the author is in a position to speak accurately and extensively on the co-operative movement, particularly in Europe. He analyzes "the co-operative impulse" and "the co-operative idea," the nature of co-operatives, co-operative organization, the co-operative yardstick, the time element in co-operation, and the extent of co-operative enterprise. He answers such questions as: What is a co-operative? What do co-operatives do? and, Why do some co-operatives fail? He also discusses the probable directions of the growth of co-operatives in the United States.

The co-operative impulse means a form of business management "in which self-interest is merged in group interest." Those whom a co-oper-

ative serves "are also those who own and control it." The experience in Europe with co-operatives seems to show that they have "a stabilizing influence on the business cycle." They are also "influences toward stability and peace in both domestic and international affairs." Individual thrift is promoted by co-operation.

Three types of business enterprise are defined, namely, (1) private enterprise, (2) government enterprise, and (3) co-operative enterprise. The first rests on contract, the second on sovereignty, and the third on agreement. Each has a legitimate place in modern society.

On the whole this is an exceedingly useful book on co-operative enterprise, particularly on the explanatory side. The style is readable and the interpretation is both reasonable and objective.

E.S.B.

THE ANNUAL EMPLOYMENT CYCLE OF THE FARM LABOR HOUSEHOLD. By PAUL H. LANDIS and RICHARD WAKEFIELD. Pullman: The State College of Washington, Agricultural Experiment Station, Rural Sociology Series in Farm Labor, No. 2, July, 1938, pp. 24.

MIGRATORY FARM LABOR AND THE HOP INDUSTRY ON THE PACIFIC COAST: With Special Application to Problems of the Yakima Valley, Washington. By CARL F. REUSS, PAUL H. LANDIS, and RICHARD WAKEFIELD. Pullman: The State College of Washington, Agricultural Experiment Station, Rural Sociology Series in Farm Labor, No. 3, August, 1938, pp. 64.

In the first of these publications some of the most pertinent problems of the agricultural worker have been set forth. Inasmuch as many of the forms of agricultural work do not demand a highly skilled workman and because the period of harvesting is generally very short, a conglomerate group of occupations is frequently represented by the farm workers in the agricultural valleys. These short-time and seasonal jobs are primarily filled by transients of the "auto-nomad" variety.

The second study makes available, in a very logical fashion, the essential facts involved in the hop industry. It is clearly pointed out that by understanding the difficulties of these workers a better program of ameliorative action may be formed. Some of the important problems dealt with are: life in the hop camp, ways of hearing of work and means of obtaining jobs, movement of the hop workers, composition and social characteristics of the hop picking population, economic character-

istics of the hop pickers, and suggestions for improvement of conditions. After reading the bulletin and studying the challenging pictographs presented therein, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the standard of existence of these laborers is unfortunately and perhaps unnecessarily low.

E.C.McD.

THE KEYSTONE: LABOR AND INDUSTRY. A Review by the Department of Labor and Industry, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, March, 1938, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 44.

This is the first issue of a pamphlet to be published periodically in Pennsylvania by their Department of Labor and Industry. In clear, expository writing it presents in this issue two current problems: fair labor standards and long hours, and unemployment compensation.

ORGANIZATION AND FUNCTIONS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR AND INDUSTRY. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 1938, pp. 63.

An informative bulletin has been prepared by the state of Pennsylvania in order to give the public information about the functions of the Department of Labor and Industry. Each bureau and board in the department is carefully outlined as to purpose, function, and operation in the bulletin.

J.B.

Social Photoplay

Moonlight Sonata is a study in the social influence of music. The photoplay illustrates how music welds the older and younger generations together. Music comes from the feelings and builds deep-seated, lasting sentiments that are socially valuable. It melts discordant hearts into one purpose. It lifts human beings out of petty thoughts into noble resolves. It transforms ugly conduct into co-operative behavior. Sometimes it produces a mutation in attitudes and personality. Listening to the "Moonlight Sonata," Ingrid suddenly changes from a wild, fanciful, recalcitrant course to a sensible, devoted procedure.

The motion picture will live because it faithfully reproduces Paderewski and his music. His trained fingers, his artful ease and naturalness, his speaking voice are shown from a dozen different angles.

The play is a meritorious study in "facial gestures," in the moods of music, and in music as language. Despite a few scenes which are far-fetched or stereotyped and trite, the love story is subordinated to the main aim of reproducing Paderewski at the piano.

E.S.B.

White Banners as a photoplay represents many changes from the novel by the same name. However, these modifications relate to minor matters and in the main do not weaken the original story. The picture is "meaty." It contains food for thought without being didactic. The superior acting of Rains and Bainter "put the photoplay across" effectively. In the role of Peter, Jackie Cooper deserves high praise. The role of personality in arousing the better desires of human nature and of stimulating "fresh endeavors" or "white banners" is made clearly evident. But it is not ordinary personality to which reference is made. In Hannah is found a personality whose unselfish interest in others and whose poise achieved through suffering stands out as unique, as peculiarly appealing, as strangely stimulating, as belonging to a higher world of thought and endeavor. One cannot catch the spirit of this supersoul (super not by birth but by conquering circumstance) and not be deeply moved in the direction of wholesome attitudes of life. Her ability to endure loss, even of being taken advantage of without reacting with bitterness makes her admirable to all who understand the cost of such an achievement. Nothing less than special insight into human nature and spiritual rebirth has enabled Lloyd C. Douglas to create a character like Hannah. The ensemble effect of *White Banners* is definitely positive and constructive.

E.S.B.

Sun Over Sweden is a comedy that introduces the observer to nearly every section of Sweden. Three pairs of persons serve as interesting media in this photoplay of Swedish life and scenery. Two girls go bicycling. Two boys travel about by automobile. A good-humored city truck driver acquires a bride and together they visit city and countryside on their honeymoon. The paths of the bicyclists and of the automobilists cross more than once and romance blossoms forth. The acting is well done; the photography for the most part is excellent. Lessons in geography are supplemented by scenes of valleys and hills. Rural life and city development are portrayed. Not brilliant or scintillating, but pleasing and restful, is this enlightening screen picture of a beautiful country with its energetic and interesting people.

E.S.B.